Hitler, the irresistible ascension? Trials on THE fascism

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Kurt Gossweiler Preface of Annie Lacroix- Rice HITLER IRRESISTIBLE ASCENSION? Trials on THE fascism

Preface

For what should you read Or reread Kurt Gossweiler?

By Annie Lacroix-Riz, teacher of history contemporary, university Paris 7

We can only welcome the decision to deliver to the French-speaking public a few works of Kurt Gossweiler covering almost three decades (from 1953 to 1980) and devoted to the analysis of German fascism. The East German Marxist historian discusses the conditions of its establishment since the 1920s, listing its early class support, from the Junkers to big capital, from heavy industry to the IG. Farben, all sectors of the economy confused. He describes his opponents THE more resolved, THE communists of KPD, who led "a real and active fight against monopoly capital". He studies, against the old thesis of "leftism" of KPD responsible of the defeat of the class factory Girl German in January 1933, THE role plays by

"there direction of SPD»: haunted by there transformation

revolutionary possible of there Company, She had since the birth of there Republic of Weimar a lot fight against the young KPD but very little against Nazism; then she had resolutely declined the offer Communist of resistance united so much in July 1932, against THE cut state fascist in Prussia, that in January 1933. THE last text examines the early putting of fascism into working order in the service of there old line expansionist, commercial And military, German imperialism in the Balkans – fracture zone of the years thirty (And of the front 14) dedicated the same spell In there long crisis contemporary.

These themes and the way of treating them go against the grain of the historiographical orientations which have triumphed In Europe subject to the unification process: first in that of the American sphere of influence after 1945, then, after the fall of the USSR, in the rest of the continent that THE spell of the weapons had subtracted has there supervision of the said sphere for more than forty years. It is therefore appropriate, before allowing the French-speaking reader to contact works typical of German Marxist historical production, to recall the main features of historiography dominant "western "Who has doomed to nothingness the historical discourse resurrected here.

THE fascism German has summer place At center of the debates inter-Germans during the decades of the GDR, and the production historical East German has influence that from the western part of Germany, forcing its historians to lively and regular debate. The pivotal role of the heir of Reich German -became Republic federal government of Germany – In there "construction European » performed _ below the aegis of the UNITED STATES assumed A whitewashing of the history of Germany's economic elites at first chief, past without transition of the era Nazi has after May 1945. When the FRG absorbed the whole of Germany,

the objective of drastic revision of the history of German fascism, of its supports (corporate, national and international) And of his enemies, interior (THE KPD) And external (the USSR), received of the odds news of success. These were further increased by the fact, generally ignored under our skies, that the professors of higher education in the East lost their university chairs on the day of unification. as THE stores their products "made in GDR".

Historiography relative At fascism had summer, since the very birth of the phenomenon, strongly influenced by Marxist analyses. Since the interwar period, the idea was quite widespread that 1. this political solution had summer designed by THE big capital as there best parade has there crisis of profit of the immediate post-First War worldwide (case Italian) Then has that, more deep again, of there depression of the years thirty (case German);

2. the war against wages, made possible by this formula handing over the working class to the employers, bound hand and foot, had to be accompanied, in Germany, the champion country of sector I (capital goods) particularly hit by the collapse of its foreign markets, of war in general, primarily (but not only) against The union Soviet. THE debate academic remained a long time brand, notably in France, over there definition that Georgi Dimitrov had given of fascism _ German At Congress of 1935 of Comintern, Or he had denounced his war plans against the USSR analysis _ recalled by Gossweiler in his text " From Weimar to Hitler »: " kind of fascism THE more reactionary [...] because that he was THE product of imperialism THE more reactionary, THE more warlike And THE more brutal Who existed at the time and who had put him in power for the realization of his clean designs."

THE anti-Marxist theses postulating the "primacy of politics » on the economy and on social relations have experienced strong progress since the 1970s (term of the texts translated here), a situation which has ensured European glory of Henry HAS. Turner. This historian American resumed in 1985, In German big Business and the Rise of Hitler 1, themes developed since 1969 in several articles, contested point by point by Gossweiler in "Hitler and THE capital". Turner cast as simpletons the contemporaries of the rise of Nazism and the historians who exposed that big capital, heavy industry in the lead, had provided, at all stages, with massive subsidies, the rise of the Hitler party. It was not, he argued, the great capital Who had supported straight away THE NSDAP, but the masses in dismay And THE little capital overwhelmed by there crisis; THE big capital born is silent rallied that in extremis, of bad grace, After to have All tent For to dodge there temptation Nazi. It was notably THE case of von Papen And Hugenberg, supposed born not there be rallied No more. This was not not this last Who had Free has Hitler THE funds of the electoral tours during which he crisscrossed the entire Reich by plane, or the powerful Mercedes of the Nazi leaders. And the daily media surge guaranteed to the slogans Hitlerites Since THE Plan Young (1929-30) did not have not no more summer Free by This even Hugenberg, Krupp's champion of German-national pan-Germanism, master of more than half of the German press and cinema, with the powerful UFA. No, this was all made possible thanks to the copyright of Mein Kampf And to "small streams of the contributions And entry fees for those who flocked to the meetings of the NSDAP.

The historical ground chosen by Turner was not solid, THE reviews argued of Kurt Gossweiler (here

This ground fragile was consolidated by anti-marxism triumphant, contemporary of there publication of the work And of its tomorrows. THE environments academic gave however, the Marxist conception of the birth of fascism, its nature and its war objectives was still upheld: this was the case in the first French edition of the work of Ian Kershaw, who is it that THE Nazism (1992), which highlighted the contribution of another great historian of the GDR, Dietrich Eichholtz, author of the work Who remains fundamental on "the economy of german war » 2. But, there second editing, in 1997, although increased, was relieved of most of the controversy, the Marxist theses having lost the game and the right to exist ³. Kershaw has since persisted in denying the "primate of the economy » (And THE silence imposed to academic spokespersons for this thesis): in his biography of Hitler, he sets Turner up as a bible, just like Robert Paxton, symbol, in the past, of non-conformist audacity and bearer, today, of a conception afraid of fascism⁵.

The last barriers against the thesis of big business being innocent of Hitler's fascism were swept away during the 1990s. Even France, once considered as offering a resistance particular has the year-

Timarxism through unduly prolonged sympathies for the PCF and the USSR, had brilliantly washed away this original sin ⁶. In 1985, the historian American Diana Pinto was surprised, while reading the high school history textbooks of the class of 1983, by the "new look of French historians". : their " about-face » compared to the postwar period – a " conversion intellectual has anti-Sovietism » And A

"spectacular pro-Americanism – led to the double caricature of "the evil empire" Soviet and "Pax americana", big chance of Europe western located in 1944-1945 on the right side of the "iron Curtain". Followed there campaign of big wingspan of criminalization of communism, including in the former sphere of influence Soviet that there even decade had delivered to UNITED STATES (Or has the influence conjugated the United States And of Germany unified). Led has European scale, via of the translations all azimuths, She aimed to transform in gospel, below there crook related from the Furet-Courtois team⁸ -under practical and financial direction of big capital master of there press And of the edition-, the equation Nazism equal Communism. Both _ received THE common term of "totalitarianism", title of single chapter of current French secondary textbooks treating of the country fascists And of The union Soviet. Identify misleading, because there production in vogue do weigh it balance of there gravity of the ailments of second side, born would it be that by THE number of dead: hundred million Or almost side "Soviet", either clearly better that THE losses due At Reich German: "only" fifty millions, even less, THE dead soviet of there Second World War (more than half of the whole) owing many to the "war of Stalin against her people"9 Or At "extravagant cost of the methods of fight outdated of the army Soviet » 10. There France, supposed not long ago hang out

feet, hoisted himself up, via a fraction of historians endowed by the world of money and the state's means of expression and exceptional publicity, at the forefront of the counter-revolutionary conversion of the French masses and European 11. The offensive was successfully carried out against the very concept of transformation of societies at least as much as against the Soviet experience assimilated to denial of right, has there breach of the freedoms, to atrocities, to the genocide (Ukrainian), etc. THE peoples were prayed of believe that the equation Nazism-Communism came of to be born works by a French team as daring as they are innovative. There thesis of a "fascism red » (Soviet), old stuff which had invaded the Anglo-Saxon countries between the thirties and fifties 12, triumphed over the Old Continent, At term of decades of effort conduits by Washington relying on European intellectual elites " protected» 13.

HAS time Or This triumph ideological East threat by THE blows of boutoir of there crisis contemporary, Kurt Gossweiler offers a stimulating reading of the devastating effects of of the years thirty. He encourages has to reflect on on THE need" State strong » of imperialism expansionist confronted with crises of overproduction, here and elsewhere. Historians should y draw encouragement has reconnect with THE critical work on THE fascism, And there conjuncture to broaden THE circle _ of their readers.

12 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

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Chapter 1

Of Weimar has Hitler: THE causes of the advent of there dictatorship fascist

THE 30 January 1933 was A of the days THE more black Of the history. It marked the beginning of the most terrible crime committed until then: the preparation for the Second World War and the aggression against the Soviet Union socialist.

In its government declaration of ¹ February 1933, Hitler promised the German people an improvement in the situation of workers and peasants, and the maintenance And there consolidation of there peace. In reality, he planned – and put into practice – an attack on the rights of the whole of the classes And of the layers workers, persecution and repression of extreme violence against of the communists, of the Democrats, of the supporters of there peace – in A word: of all THE anti-fascists. "Give me four years, and you will no longer recognize Germany, prophesied Hitler. In effect, After four years of war, Germany, of even that Europe, ravaged, had become unrecognizable.

In of many country, we se request today how THE fascism put arrive At power in Germany, who were historically responsible and how to prevent her back Or combat her existence. The historical example provided by Germany must serve of lesson to peoples of world entire.

In Germany federal as In others Imperialist states, thousands of journalists, historians, philosophers and sociologists in the pay of the State strive to hide the causes and forces which gave birth to fascism. This is why it is our political duty And historical to bring has these questions answers consistent with the truth of the facts. Scientific knowledge of the origins And of there nature deep of fascism _ strengthens THE fight anti-imperialist of today.

Imperialism And fascism

Fascism is the extreme consequence of the tendency towards reaction and violence inherent in imperialism. " Imperialism is the era of finance capital and monopolies, which cause tendencies towards domination everywhere And no to freedom 1 ". Monopoly inevitably leads to absolutism on the economic level and policy. " There superstructure policy Who cap the new economy, THE capitalism monopolist [...], this is the turning point from democracy towards political reaction. Free competition corresponds to democracy. To the monopoly corresponds there reaction policy 2." THE fascism in so much that fluent policy n / A not do his beginnings on the scene of the story universal in even time that imperialism. It only arrived after the end of the First World War. There tendency of imperialism has there reaction And

has there violence born took SO a shape fascist that in a very specific historical situation. This situation was characterized by the entry of capitalism into a period of crisis widespread. There victory of there revolution socialist movement of October 1917 in Russia precipitated this generalized crisis of capitalism of way dizzying.

THE reversal of there bourgeoisie Russian had do take _ awareness has there bourgeoisie of world entire that there working class was concretely in measure of there conquer, to provoke there END of capitalism And to establish A order new. The effect of this historical experience on the bourgeoisie monopolist was And stay contradictory: on the one hand, she learned to recognize the virtues of social-democratic reformism as a bulwark against revolution. Considered until then as unfit to hold governmental responsibilities, social democracy was inserted In device of domination And of oppression of capitalism. On the other hand, the fear of revolution aroused there will of born more only hold THE labor movement In some boundaries, but of purely And simply _THE destroy. More Never, there class factory Girl born had to be able to organize and fight for its interests. He had to to remove has there revolution all chance of success in putting the revolutionaries incapacitated to fight, in THE insulating Or in THE removing physically, in All case in THE holding has the gap of stay of there Company. There tendency has there reaction And has there violence inherent to imperialism takes SO At course of there period of generalized crisis a dimension additional: this trend _ transform in a will permed of destroy totally THE movement worker revolutionary.

Imperialism found in fascist movements and dictatorships the most effective instrument to carry out has GOOD this destruction. In effect, THE role main of fas-

cism consists has repress And has hold in failure THE labor movement by there terror And there violence.

THE fascism, At even title that imperialism, East an international phenomenon. German fascism played the role of "troop shock of the international counterrevolution, main fomenter of the imperialist war, instigator of there crusade against The union Soviet, the big one country of the workers of world entire³".

THE peculiarities of movement fascist And of there fascist dictatorship in a country (any) are above all determined by the character and particularities of imperialism Who THE have generated. George Dimitrov said of there variant German of fascism what was THE type of fascism THE more reactionary because what was the product of the most reactionary, most bellicose and most brutal imperialism of the time, which had put it in power for the realization of its own designs.

THE support brought At NSDAP (left Nazi) by there bourgeoisie monopolist And THE Junkers

At course of there revolution of november 1918, THE Armed workers and soldiers had obtained through their struggle important democratic rights which appeared from the beginning unbearable to eyes of there big bourgeoisie and Junkers who remained in power. On several occasions between 1918 and 1923, the most reactionary circles of the ruling class attempted, through arms and the establishment of a "dictatorship national » (putsch of Kapp), to remove definitely these rights to masses. They leaned _ on a part of the army (Reichswehr) Thus as on the numerous reactionary organizations (the Weissgardisten): body franks, militias of the Einwohnerwehr

And miscellaneous others groups armed. After the collapse of the Republic of the advice workers of Munich in may 1919, Bavaria became the most important center for this type of organization. Moon of among they, THE NSDAP (Left national socialist of German workers) - which was called during its foundation by Anton Drexler " German Workers ' Party » - acquired in Bavaria a influence local certain. Like most far-right associations and groups, it brought together former soldiers, lansquenets Who had not successful has se reinsert in the Company civil bourgeois And of the elements downgraded of the small bourgeoisie And of there bourgeoisie. As Almost all of these organizations, the NSDAP was under the special protection of the army. Hitler was even sent by the army as an informer within Drexler's DAP then that he was Again military. He adhered At left And se hoisted to her head with THE support brand of the general staff Bavarian - THE general Ritter von Epp, Captain Ernst Röhm and Captain Mayr.

The army provides At NSDAP And has his troops of shock, THE HER (*Sturmabteilungen*), THE weapons And money of which they needed . Soldiers were seconded to provide the service of order during of their gatherings And there publication of their newspaper, the " *Völkischer Beobachter*" was made possible thanks to resources coming from the army . The influence of the militarists was Again reinforced by membership of Ludendorff At left, This dictator soldier who led Germany during the First World War And man of trust of the industrial of the armament of the Ruhr region.

The NSDAP did not only interest the militarists. Many industrialists, from the smallest companies to the largest groups like Borsig, Thyssen or Stinnes, saw Already has this era In THE NSDAP a

of the many organizations Who were worth there penalty to be supported. They there financed in result. THE left even received important subsidies of the foreigner. Among these first patrons Americans, we find the notorious anti-Semite and automobile king Henry Ford.

At more strong of inflation Who hit Germany has autumn _ 1923, THE NSDAP received by the intermediary of Ludendorff _ 100 000 gold marks of Fritz Thyssen, A astronomical amount account tenuous of inflation. THE leaders Of the industry heavy of there Ruhr gathered around of Thyssen and Hugo Stinnes hoped that Hitler's party would And of Ludendorff would succeed has direct the Bavarian opposition reactionary In a "Walk on Berlin" with the even success that there "Walk on Rome » of Mussolini in october 1922. Stinnes go away was maintained with the ambassador American in september 1923: "He must find a dictator Who would have THE power of TO DO All This Who is necessary. Such a man must speak the language of the people And be himself A civil; We have A such man. A big movement from of Bavaria, decided has restore the ancient monarchies, approach. Her coming will mean before All THE beginning of a fight against THE Communism.» Hitler And Ludendorff organized A putsch has Munich _ 8 And 9 november 1923, Who turned has there prank call lamentable. THE men policies of there bourgeoisie German imperialist had drawn their lessons of failure of putsch of Kapp of 1920 And of all THE attempts of put end of manner violent has there Republic of Weimar. Seen the organization And there power of proletariat German, he was not necessary more tolerate has the future of attempt of putsch. They counted in finish with there Republic of Weimar by peaceful means, in a manner "constitutional " And " legal". Hitler is silent turned towards this way of the 1924. In there period of relative stability between 1924 And 1928,

the economic boom had brought the majority of the German people has the illusion that we had restored of the basics safe for the economy national And their own existence. THE petty bourgeois supporters of NSDAP se turned towards THE old bourgeois parties and the party shrank until it was practically non-existent. In the elections of may 1928, THE NSDAP born harvested that 800 000 voice, against 4.3 million For THE Left popular national German (DNVP) of Hugenberg, itself strong on the right.

But When there conjuncture se degraded has new, the circles THE more reactionaries of capital monopolistic decided of a new offensive against there Republic of Weimar. They wanted, by there way legal, se get rid of a times For all of system parliamentary, dismantle the organizations of the labor movement and open the way to preparations of a war of conquests revenge. In these circumstances, some members of these circles experienced a renewed interest in the NSDAP. At their head, Emil Kirdorf, founder of the coal consortium of Rhineland-Westphalia And of there Company mining company of Gelsenkirchen, and Alfred Hugenberg, trusted man and representative of the most influential circles of there big industry of there Ruhr And of the Junkers, himself director of more big band of press And movies _ from Germany And president of DNVP Since 1928. In December 1929, after the outbreak of the economic crisis worldwide, the organization of point of there big industry, the employers' union of the German industry Reich, adopted A program directed against THE political and social achievements of the German working class and committed In THE dismantling progressive of there parliamentary democracy of the Weimar Republic. In this frame, THE NSDAP enjoys of manner growing of moral support And material of DNVP And of the circles of monopolists and Junkers who led this party behind the scenes. Grace With this support, the NSDAP was able to disseminate its social demagoguery more widely and more intensely than ever before during the campaigns for the regional elections of 1929. And 1930, And For THE elections federal of September 1930. It worked so well that, following the elections federal, THE NSAPD became THE second left with more of 6 million of voice And 107 deputies - behind the SPD always dominant. There direction of NSDAP had thus proven has there big bourgeoisie that THE left was no only useful, but essential has there realisation of her project : there creation of favorable conditions for a transition by there way legal of a democracy parliamentarian to an openly dictatorial regime. It was now necessary to make it a safe and reliable instrument in line with and respecting the will of the true masters. It was necessary to ensure the helpfulness and reliability of the Führer, then put him in power in a strictly legal manner. It was also necessary to ensure that it would not allow that there mass of the members of there base, fed of anti-capitalist demagoguery, exerts pressure from below and influences line of there direction of left.

It is In This frame that se locate THE oath of loyalty to the legality of Hitler before the Supreme Court of the Reich on September 25, 1930, the adoption of the *Fiihrer principle*, the exclusion of the opponents of left Nazi And there appointment to important positions of trusted men of capital financial.

Several personalities thus came into contact with the NSDAP After THE elections of september 1930 in order to put it under control, to direct it in the direction of capital financial And of THE give back apt has govern:

• *Kurt Freiherr von Schröder*: partner In a private bank of Cologne, parent And partner in business of the

- Hjalmar Schacht: president of there Bank German national And man of trust of capital international financier. In the fall of 1930 he undertook a trip has through THE UNITED STATES For to reassure THE American monopolists worried about the electoral success of the Nazis and telling them that a possible Nazi takeover represented no risk for their investments in Germany.
- Emily George von Stauss: A of the directors of there Germany's most powerful monopoly bank, Deutsche Bank and Disconto-Gesellschaft.
- THE _ Prince royal Guillaume of Hohenzollern, And her brother, the Prince Auguste-Guillaume: der "Awwi" [August Wilhelm] as we THE nicknamed unofficially. "Auwi » left THE "Stahlhelm » from 1930 for Hitler's SA, where he got All of following a high function leader.

Already in 1930, first-rate representatives of the class manager, such that THE General von Seeckt, Hjalmar Schacht and Junker von Oldenburg-Januschau, close friend of Hindenburg, expressed themselves in favor of there training of a government with THE NSDAP In THE bourgeois newspaper Die Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.

In January 1931, L'" education » of NSDAP aiming has in TO DO A left apt has govern was systematically pursued. His leaders, Hitler THE first, had on many occasions the opportunity to present their ideas in front of of the circles more Or less big of monopolists And of Junkers, And of take awareness in return of views of their patrons. The influence direct of large capital on the NSDAP was reinforced by the accession of important monopolists and close personalities. Some were of the members secrets. So, besides Hjalmar

22 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

Schacht, already mentioned, joined, among others, the NSDAP in 1931:

- Walter Funk: at the time editor of the newspaper of the big bourgeoisie die Berliner Börsen-Zeitung. He became advise _ economic of Hitler.
- Fritz Thyssen: member of advice administration of the Union of the steel mills Vereinigten Stahlwerke AG,
 THE bigger _ trust of industry of coal And of steel in Europe.
- Wilhelm Mann: member of the management of the world's largest chemical group, IG-Farben AG.
- *THE Prince Eulenburg-Hertefeld:* big owner earthling (4 600 Ha) And entrepreneur (brickwork, brewery, fur farm).

Already in July 1931, important associations such as the Vereinigten Vaterländischen Verbände (" Union of associations patriotic), directed by the old General Rüdiger von der Goltz, Or L'" Association politicaleconomic Frankfurt am Main", based In there metropolis of IG-Farben, appealed to President Hindenburg to that he appointed Hitler chancellor. Among THE signatories, we find, between others, A prince heir from Isenburg and from Büdingen, Walter Dyckerhoff, owner of the largest business of construction German, THE Doctor Geisow of IG-Farben And THE doctor Traupel of band Krupp. The same year, on June 19, 1931, Edmund Stinnes also personally contacted Hitler to communicate to him what domestic and foreign policies he believed a Nazi government should pursue. In the same time, THE monopolists were pursuing their effort to dispel THE fears that aroused has the stranger A possible rise to the Nazi government. It was to this end that the director of the Siemens firm, Carl Friedrich von Siemens, delivered a highly praised speech on October 27, 1931. confidential in front of the members important

HAS This moment, THE NSDAP enjoyed Already Since long time there sympathy And of support of politicians And of important foreign monopolists like Lord Rothermere, the magnate of there press British, Henry Ford, of which we have already spoken, and Henry Deterding, the powerful proprietor of band oil tanker British-Dutch Shell. At the end of 1931, beginning of 1932, with the announcement of numerous elections, THE costs of campaign climbed in arrow. Donors _ from of all THE sectors of industry, of the bank and the world of landowners were united In A "circle of support" directed by industrialist Wilhelm Keppler, member of NSDAP Since 1927, advise financial of Hitler Since there second half of the year 1931 And agent of connection of the Nazis In THE circles financial _ leaders, especially with of baron Kurt von

Schröder.

Here is THE twelve first members of This circle, who will form more late THE sadly famous "circle of friends » by Himmler:

- THE baron Kurt von Schröder
- Hjalmar Schacht
- Albert Vögler, president of committee director of the steel mills Vereinigten Stahlwerke AG
- Friedrich Reinhart, director of there Commerz- and Privatbank
- · August Rostberg, director general of band chemical (potash) Wintershall AG
- Otto Steinbrink, member of there direction of the steel mills Mitteldeutsche Stahlwerke AG (Flick-Konzern)
- Heinrich Schmidt I, president of advice administration _ of there Wintershall AGEwald Hecker, president advice _ administration of a business controlled

by the state, THE forges $\emph{Ilseder H\"{u}tte}Rudolf\ Bingel$, member of the management of $\emph{Siemens-Schuckert}\ AG$

- Emil Helfferich , Chairman of the Board of Directors of the largest German shipping company " HAPAG»
- Emily Meyer, of there Dresdner Bank
- Count Gottfried von Bismarck, large landowner.

On January 26, 1932, Fritz Thyssen organized a Hitler conference in front of more than a hundred monopolists at the Düsseldorfer Industrieklub, during which Hitler assured that his movement saw private property as the foundation of the economy German And that THE aim The main objective of the NSDAP was to eradicate Marxism from the roots in Germany. The conference was such a success that the director of press of Hitler wrote more late: "The impression he made on this circle of very serious listeners was astonishing. He was greeted with rounds of applause. By the end of his speech, Hitler had won a battle. He had left a deep impression which took shape during the following very difficult months of struggle. ". However, another whole year passed before the monopolists And THE Junkers German confident there chancellorship to Hitler; and this for different reasons.

All First of all, they had fear of there answer of there class workers to such a declaration of open war. We were not not on that there direction of left social democrat and THE leaders of the unions reformists would reach to prevent THE workers social democrats to go to fight to sides of their brothers of class communists against the putting in place of a dictatorship fascist. HAS this regard, the shot status of Papen of 20 July 1932 constituted For the big bourgeoisie a sort of dress rehearsal, of which success encouraged him to persevere on this path. This

Then, it seemed good to them to bring the Nazi party to power only after the darkest hours of the crisis. Rapid successes in job creation would make the process of consolidation of the fascist dictatorship lighter and faster. Finally, the leading groups of German financial capital then engaged in violent struggles of power, each wanting take there direction of the dictatorship in the making. These quarrels were echoed in similar power struggles between Nazi leaders. Hermann Goering And Gregor Strasser se were arguing about THE positions keys In A government led by the NSDAP, on there manner of TO DO enter THE NSDAP At government And on THE choice of a partner in view of train a coalition.

Nevertheless, during of the elections federal of 6 november 1932 and on the occasion of the Berlin public transport strike, the German Communist Party clearly increased its influence and the NSDAP experienced a significant setback. He lost more than 2 million votes and was plunged into a major crisis. With the decline of the NSDAP and the risk for THE monopolists, THE militarists And THE Junkers to see all their hopes and plans of conquest disappear, they put their dissensions And quarrels internal in the locker room and decided to hand over power more quickly At left of Hitler.

November 19, notable bankers, industrialists and large landowners addressed a request At president Hindenburg him asking with insistence of appoint Hitler has there chancery. Among the signatories of this request, we find Hjalmar Schacht, THE baron von Schröder, Fritz Thyssen, THE county

von Kalckreuth, president of The union agricultural, Friedrich Rheinhart (Commerz- and Privatbank), Kurt Woermann (company Hamburger of transportation Woermann), Fritz Beindorff (Gerling insurance group), Kurt von Eichborn, Emil Helfferich (HAPAG), Ewald Hecker (*Ilseder hut*), Carl Vincent Krogmann (Bedroom of Commerce of Hamburg), Erich Lübbert (chairman of the board of directors of the Verkehrswesen AG and member of the board of directors of numerous colonial companies), Erwin Merck (Hamburg), Joachim von Oppen (large landowner), Rudolf Ventzky (Esslingen), Franz Heinrich Witthoefft (merchant, Hamburg), August Rostberg (Wintershall group), Count Robert von Keyserlingk (large landowner, member of the Herrenklub), Kurt Gustav Ernst von Rohr-Manze (large owner earthling) And Engelbert Beckmann (Hengstey). Furthermore, Albert Vögler, Paul Reusch, Managing Director of band Haniel And Fritz Springorum, general manager of band Hoesch, marked their agreement total

with this request.

There encounter sadly famous between von Papen and Hitler in the Cologne villa of banker Kurt von Schröder THE 4 January 1933 sealed THE main arrangements which led President von Hindenburg on January 30, 1933 has appoint Hitler At job of chancellor. The communists had nevertheless warned during the elections presidential of beginning of the year 1932: "Who vote Hindenburg, vote Hitler!" This was only too true. On the other hand, the slogan chosen by the leadership of the social democratic party: "Vote Hindenburg, YOU bring down Hitler" had misled the masses, which the communists had also predicted. The 1947 statements made by THE banker Kurt von Schröder in front THE court from Nuremberg We illuminate Again any further on THE moti-

vations of the German imperialists to bring Hitler to power power more quickly: "THE aspirations municipalities economic circles were to see rise to power in Germany A *Fuhrer* powerful able of form a government destined to stay in power for a long time. When the NSDAP recorded its first on November 6, 1932 reverse, THE time of her apogee was SO gone and a helping hand from economic circles proved particularly urgent."

On January 30, 1933, the German imperialists had taken the first step in the march towards a new war For THE sharing of the world. "The arrival of Fascism in power is not the ordinary substitution of one bourgeois government for another, but the replacement of a state form of class domination. of there bourgeois – there bourgeois democracy – by one other shape of this domination, there dictatorship terrorist declared 4."

He doesn't happen not often that THE relationships there dominant exploiting class with representatives of their political interests and the mechanisms of power manipulation appear as clearly as in the case of transformation, by THE tenants of imperialism German, the NSDAP into a party capable of governing and its coming to power. This evidence, however, does not prevent most bourgeois historians from taking away from the monopolists And to Junkers German all responsibility for the advent of the fascist dictatorship by claiming that only a few isolated entrepreneurs would have supported Hitler, And This temporarily. Their big On the contrary, the majority would have been anti-Nazi. The real culprits of the victory of fascism in Germany would have been the masses, those millions of people who would have elected Hitler, and the communists who would have fought the Republic

by there LEFT. This one would not have not resisted has This double assault coming from the left as well as the right.

That say of All that? If We let's accept these postulates, he agrees of answer to questions following:

How important were the millions of NSDAP voters in the establishment of the fascist dictatorship??

What influence has had there mass of the members of Nazi Party on the class character of fascism?

How can we explain the influence of fascist ideology on there small bourgeoisie?

THE fascism And her base of mass

Among those Who have rejected there guilt of the advent of the fascist dictatorship primarily on the masses, we find Hjalmar Schacht, this man Who, with Fritz Thyssen, used all its weight to eliminate all resistance has the arrival of Hitler has there chancery. Accused in Nuremberg in the trial against the major criminals of war, he declared with A cynicism insolent: "In as a democrat and supporter of a democratic and parliamentary regime, it seemed inevitable to me to entrust this man (Hitler) with the task of forming a government after the NSDAP had won 40 % of votes in elections of July 1932."

Gold, THE facts, confirmed without there lesser ambiguity possible by the statements of banker Kurt von Schröder, attest that the decision to accelerate the process of power of Hitler did not have not summer socket At moment where the NSDAP had won of the voters, but GOOD After that he have so much lost that he threatened of collapse.

It was not out of respect for the vote of 13 million voters that they had put Hitler At power, but

well because they could only carry out their longestablished plans of aggression by relying on this left fascist.

He would be however wrong of not grant none importance to those millions of Germans who supported the Nazi Party And followed his slogans pernicious. Without their support, he would not have not summer possible At capital financial German to make the transition to dictatorship in good conditions, that's to say "legally" And "in accordance with the Constitution". These hundreds of thousands of SA who have terrified And brutalized THE anti-fascists, avoiding has the army of duty to intervene against there class factory Girl, have strongly contributed has to spill THE reports of strength between THE classes in favor of capital monopolistic And has create THE terms required has the advent of there dictatorship fascist. All THE Germans Who have follow up THE leaders fascists wear a heavy responsibility, even if they don't have in their majority taken go has none of the atrocities committed by fascists. But unlike the big industrialists and the Junkers, they had been seduced by demagoguery refined And extremely difficult has detect, contrary to their clean interests And taking advantage has their enemies morsuch -THE imperialists Germans.

They were doing In their immense majority part middle classes, the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie: artisans, small tradespeople, employees, civil servants, intellectuals and peasants. Indeed, the NSDAP did not grow to the detriment of the workers' parties, like their promoters and patrons among the monopolists and Junkers had it wish And planned, but At detriment of old gone bourgeois And grace has the influx of new layers voters, as THE watch THE painting following:

Elections parliamentarians

	July 1928	1932
NSDAP	0.81 million	13.7 million
DNVP	4.4 million	2.1 million
DVP	2.7 million	0.436 million
DDP (Dt Staatsparte	ei) 1.5 million	0.371 million
Wirtschaftsparte	1.3 million	0.146 million
SPD	9.1 million	7.9 million
KPD	3.2 million	5.2 million

Yet, This born are not THE million of voters Nazis from of there small bourgeoisie, but GOOD THE interests millionaires who determined government policy Nazi And THE character of class of there dictatorship fascist. So Why, during of 7th - Congress global of the Communist International, Georges characterized the fascism in power as being the "open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic elements, THE more imperialists financial capital. » And to those who tried at the time to mask the character of class of fascism, he replied: "THE fascism, This is not a shape of power state Who se place above the classes, This is not not THE power of there small bourgeoisie or the sub-proletariat on financial capital. Fascism, It is THE power of capital financial itself, it is the organization of the terrorist and bloody repression of the working class and the revolutionary fringe of peasants and intellectuals.»

There small bourgeoisie felt there veracity of this constatation even in his own flesh. After the destruction, with the help of the SA, of the workers' organizations, the persecution of anti-fascist fighters and their deportation to concentration camps, the SA was itself

But why then did fascist demagoguery exert a attraction And a fascination such strong on the mass of there small bourgeoisie?

The propaganda of the NSDAP defended the traditional nationalist and chauvinistic ideology but differed essentially from that of the old bourgeois parties by its social demagoguery devoid of any scruples. The party claimed be A left national, revolutionary And socialist worker. This masquerade anticapitalist was destiny to divert the mass of workers from the internationalist field of there struggle of the classes towards THE ground nationalist of revanchism in denouncing the Treaty of Versailles - and the gone German Who had sign This treaty And prefelt her adoption as inevitable – as there source of all social inequalities and abuses.

There big majority of there class factory Girl German did not allow himself to be trapped, especially since even workers influenced by reformist theses were traditionally very attached to class solidarity international. THE workers organized At within the Christian unions immediately saw in the Nazis a opponent has cause of hostility displayed of the fascists towards unions. They saw them as those who wanted to deprive them of their organization, their most important weapon in the wage struggle. So the Nazi fascists reached not, despite all their demagogy, has penetrate the defenses of workers' parties and unions and conquer there mass of the workers Germans.

By against, a big part of there small bourgeoisie German was particularly sensitive to this mixture of nationalism radical And of "socialism » falsely radical. In fact, these were layers of the population increasingly deprived of their existential base by the growing power of big capital. These were those whose savings were increasingly robbed by inflation and the global economic crisis, those who could not resist the too powerful competition from groups industrial And of the chains of big stores, and that the usurious rates charged by the banks were plunging them into an ever deeper abyss of debt . He must y add THE layers of the employees And civil servants who lost their privileged position in relation to workers in the crisis. Threatened with losing their jobs, ending up unemployed and being thrown into the class of the proletariat, they aspired to find there security of their job pass. So, A deep feeling antimonopolist won a big go of there

small bourgeoisie And brought him has seek a alternative to capitalism. She was looking for an alternative that would allow her of preserve her Status of small bourgeoisie, so much face At hazard real to be dispossessed And ruined by the big capital that face At hazard imaginary but suggested to be expropriated And downgraded by THE socialism. THE "national socialism » propose by the Nazis responded precisely to these expectations And has these fears.

But SO, this opening of the classes averages has ideology fascist is she A do established a times For all, a law that he We must accept as a fatality? A such design would be No only basically _ false but also dangerous on THE political level. GOOD on, there small bourgeoisie, of do of her position _ social stuck between THE two classes main, of his attachment has there property private of the means of production And of her fear of downgrading social, short always the danger of succumbing to clever appeals to one's mentality of " owner" and allow oneself to be instrumentalized In a counter-revolution directed against THE labor movement. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote to This subject In THE Manifest of Left Communist: "The middle classes, small manufacturers, retailers, artisans, farmers, all fight there bourgeoisie because what is a threat to their existence as middle classes. They born are SO not revolutionaries but conservative; GOOD more, they are reactionaries: they search has TO DO turn has the reverse there wheel of the story. » Someone who misread the Communist Manifesto And would have retained this alone sentence as characterization of the political attitude of the intermediate layers of there population, will see that of the there sentence next, Marx And Engels there complete as follows: "If they are revolutionary, it is in consideration of their passage

imminent At proletariat: they defend SO their interests _ future And No their interests current; they abandon their own point of view For se to place has the one of proletariat^{5.}" Marx And Engels were SO far of challenge to classes averages their potential revolutionary, as bourgeois sociologists readily claim on the base of a interpretation wrong of Marx. However, he must a experience policy more long And more deep to go beyond the defense of outdated interests that we believes always current affairs, For se to do of prejudice And ideas reactionaries rooted And For realize _ of his interests common with THE proletariat. There policy of there bourgeoisie imperialist taught all the days to layers averages of there population that their interests are fundamentally incompatible with the power of capital monopolistic. But he in must more for that they understand that their ally In there The fight against the omnipotence of the monopolies is the working class. To do this, worker organizations must, by their action, convince these layers that they have not only the intention, but that they are also capable of hold head At capital monopolistic And of defense dre with strength And efficiency all of the workers.

Unfortunately, the middle layers are, over the course of of the years of crisis economic worldwide, a divided working class, with the workers' party the most representative and the most influential, the SPD which led to the government a policy favorable to monopoly capital And hostile to classes averages.

Thus, the leaders of the SPD facilitated the task of the Nazi leaders, who were able to heap reproaches on the regime of Weimar appearance "Marxist » And TO DO believe the mass of their petty-bourgeois adherents that the movement worker was their enemy sworn, responsible between

all of their distress and ruin. Unlike the SPD leadership, the KPD led a real and active struggle against monopoly capital. Through its program For there release national And social of German people (1930) and its program of aid to the peasants (1931), the KPD exposed the Nazi demagoguery and showed all the workers of the city and the countryside what were their real interests. However, in connecting the immediate antimonopolist demands to that of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only alternative to fascism, it made its acceptance more difficult by the middle classes, because it was too much to ask of their capacity for understanding.

This is not not because that these layers of there population se are Effectively tours towards THE NSDAP that we can conclude that they constitute A reservoir invariably safe for fascism and neo-fascism. The experience of the international workers' movement, in Italy and France for example, but especially in popular democracies like the German Democratic Republic, has shown that it is entirely possible to find allies in these sections of the population. reliable working class people. But for this it is necessary, and this is the sine qua condition no, succeed in uniting the action of workers' organizations in the anti-monopoly fight and lead within of movement worker a true policy of Marxist-Leninist alliance.

There victory of fascism would have could be avoided

During the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, George Dimitrov fit this REMARK: "THE fascism has could arrive At power Before All because that there class factory Girl,

as a result of the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie that practiced THE chefs of there social democracy, found itself split, disarmed from a political and organizational point of view in the face of the aggression of the bourgeoisie. As for the communist parties, they were insufficiently strong For raise THE masses without And against there social democracy And THE to drive thus to there battle decisive against THE fascism ⁶."

Fascism could have been stopped, but only by class factory Girl in forehead United, by THE fight of united mass of all THE anti-fascists, y Understood by of the extra-parliamentary struggles , including the political general strike and, if necessary, there struggle army.

THE Left Communist was there alone strength policy to oppose At fascism a hostility irreconcilable. He was ready to mobilize all means and forces necessary to prevent the fascists from taking power. He was the only one who honestly and tirelessly fought for the creation of a united anti-fascist front. He did not put, said Ernst Thälmann during his discussion with workers social democrats in July 1932, only one And single condition: we had to be ready and determined to lead with courage and dedication a mass fight against THE fascism And THE flight of the wages in using all the means of which had THE proletariat. Put on the same foot communists And national socialists, as bourgeois and social democratic authors in the Federal Republic constantly do, against all evidence, East SO of there defamation malicious.

For THE communists, there democracy below there Republique of Weimar was not going not enough far; they se were fighting for *more* of democracy and above all for a real democracy At profit of people And of the workers And For the limitation Then there deletion total of power of the enne-

put democracy, the monopolists and the Junkers. The 20 october 1922, Clara Zetkin had very GOOD expressed before the Reichstag the attitude of the communists towards the Republic of Weimar: "We have no illusions on there value of This little of democracy For there working class, but as little as it is, we do not underestimate it not. » Then, she turned to the nationalists and she continued: "While you're just thinking about manner of which YOU could to do This beginning of construction democratic, We are loans has protect and to defend this poor democracy against you; and everyone will see that this little piece of democracy has no more faithful and more determined defenders than the communists ." It is precisely For that that THE Communists were the number one enemy of German monopolistic capital and its fascist followers.

When Hitler put For there first times TO DO go of his ideas has Emily Kirdorf, probably At course In a personal interview, he expressed all his contempt for the people and his admiration for the leading figures. of world employer: "THE principle absurd of a democracy East of replace there strength And THE genius of there personality by the numerical majority, that is to say concretely weakness and stupidity."

THE 26 January 1932, he had the opportunity of prove to the powerful industrial of there Ruhr And of Rhine that he was the man they needed, among other things through this statement: "If THE heads thinking of a nation, necessarily minority, are not more esteemed than all the others, it follows a domination over genius, there ability And there value of there personality, called has wrong power of people. In do, This is not not THE power of people, but in reality the power of stupidity, of mediocrity, of imperfection, of there cowardice, of there weakness, of linensufficiency... There democracy policy corresponds on THE economic plan to communism... If we were not there, there would already be no bourgeoisie today, the question of know if we wanna of Bolshevism would be settled a long time ago!»

There situation was therefore the following: the communists defended everything that the Weimar Republic brought to workers in terms of democratic and social rights and fought everything that limited these rights or made empty of sense. All in fighter THE too much little democracy, they were the fiercest defenders of this *little*.

THE fascists Nazis were fighting as to has them there Republique of Weimar because that they considered -All like their real masters, the men of monopoly capitalism and the Junkers – that this Republic granted too much of democracy to the masses. Their fight finally bore fruit because, fundamentally, the leaders of all the bourgeois parties shared the same concept and worked to dismantle parliamentary democracy , This Who THE brought has vote there "law on THE full powers" of 23 March 1933.

It is true that social democracy defended the Republic of Weimar in words, but these words born were not translated into action, so that the communists found themselves alone fighting in defense of the rights of the people. The most striking example of this was given on January 30, 1933. As at the time of the coup d'état by von Papen against THE government Prussian, THE 20 July 1932, THE leaders of KPD went find there leadership of the SPD and that of the free unions to invite them to launch A call common has there strike general against there establishment of the fascist dictatorship. But like the previous time, THE leaders of SPD refused their offer.

The organ central of SPD, THE Vorwärts, justified THE day even this refusal of there manner next: "Face has there threat of Rebellion, there social democracy will stay In THE boundaries of the Constitution And of there legality. She born will do not THE first not out of these boundaries. She will use all THE means constitutional_And legal For combat with strength This government." A message has the address of Hitler assuring him that outside of speech At breast And in out of parliament, he ... not would meet none resistance of there go of there bigger _ And of there more influential organization of workers, nor of the unions Who him were affiliates. There direction of SPD granted Thus has there dictatorship fascist, Again extremely fragile And vulnerable In her first phase, THE deadline including her had need For Stop all THE executives of movement _ worker Before THE elections planned THE 5 March 1933, and to stage the Reichstag fire of February 27 in order to of justify these arrests. This that day And In days _ following, of the thousands of communists, of social democrats, of Democrats bourgeois And of pacifists were victims of there terror unbridled of the fascists.

What's more, certain members of the party leadership and of there fraction parliamentary of SPD were hoping that the fascist dictatorship would allow their continued existence legal. They opposed SO strongly has all those who demanded to go illegal to fight against fascism . When the Berlin section of the Socialist Workers' Youth (SAJ) switched to clandestine work and sheltered the organization's money from the Nazis, the federal leader of the SAJ, Erich Ollenhauer, formally opposed this and demanded, under penalty of disciplinary measures, that "these small shenanigans illegal ". THE 5 april 1933, Wendt, member of there direction of SPD, ordered that the funds secured by the management of the Berlin section of there SAJ be returned And threatened THE president

of the Berlin section of the SAJ to exclude him from the party in the event of refusal And of reveal At big audience (otherwise told the fascist authorities) the reason for his exclusion!

Always In there line of this attitude obsequious towards the Nazi leaders, we must not forget to mention the approval given by the SPD parliamentary fraction to the government 's foreign policy declaration Hitler THE 17 may 1933.

In THE days Who followed, there direction of SPD split _ in two, each part refusing has the other THE the right to speak out At name of left. In Germany, THE Executives who remained in the country and grouped under the leadership of Paul Löbe claimed to represent the true leadership of the party. Due _ of their Good conduct, they had got of the Nazis maintaining the party. Their unworthy servility towards murderers fascists of the workers went if far that they arrived even has exclude THE members Jews of there party leadership.

Under the presidency of Otto Wels, the exiled leaders formed A committee director of emigration Who held its meetings in Prague. Nevertheless, this committee considered her assignment main No not of combat fascism _ Hitlerian, but GOOD of thwart the influence of the communists. At a meeting of the part of the SPD parliamentary faction that remained in the country on June 10, 1933, Max Westphal explained the motivations of the members of the leadership who had emigrated to Prague as follows: "The comrades of the exterior [sic!] defend there thesis next: the party runs the terrible danger of losing all credit with of there mass of the workers And to acquire a execrable reputation among comrades abroad. If things continue like this, then it is especially the communists with their illegal methods who will become the iron of spear of fight against THE fascism 8. "

However, the Prague party leadership was not able to to prevent this evolution. After aggression of Hitler's Germany, the Soviet Union turned out to be the only one of the attacked countries capable of resisting the assaults of the fascist war machine and became the main force of the anti-Hitler coalition. It was also a communist, George Dimitrov, who inflicted on the fascists of the 1933 their first defeat, a defeat history And highly symbolic. THE Communist Bulgarian George Dimitrov and German communist Ernst Thälmann did figure examples. Their courage And their perseverance were source of strengths No only for the communists, but also for the social democratic and bourgeois anti-fascists whom the capitulation of their leaders to fascism did not prevent from continuing THE fight against there plague Brown.

And This was A Communist, George Dimitrov, Who developloppa in 1935 has the opportunity of 7th Congress global of the Communist International the program of effective combat against THE fascism, A program Who provided answers to all the fundamental questions posed by the anti-fascist fight, answers which, today Again, have guard all their relevance.

Questions on there struggle antifascist current

There victory of there coalition anti-Hitler on THE fascist powers during the Second World War was in even time a victory of movement international communist, And of her strategy And of her tactical applied in the anti-fascist struggle. In countries where the anti-fascist movement directed by of the communists went out victorious, the country socialists current, THE fascism was eradicated has there

42 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

root. And everywhere Or imperialism East stay At power, the hazard of fascism remains – contrary to what bourgeois authors like Ernst Nolte claim, for Who "the era fascist » has taken end in 1945 – And the words of Brecht are always news: "THE belly East still fertile, from which the filthy thing arose 9."

Even today [1973, editor's note], fascism exists in different shapes. All First of all below there shape of fascist states old (Spain, Portugal); Next below there form of new fascist states (Greece, for example) or in the form of fascist or neo-fascist parties and movements present in all imperialist countries, where they are often tolerated by the official parties of monopoly capital, or even encouraged and partly supported by the state (he enough of see THE connections between there CSU and the NPD, state subsidies granted to the NPD in all FRG states where they temporarily sat At parliament); finally, the use of fascist warlike methods (the USA in Indochina, Israel in the Middle East) and, quite in the same vein, the use of fascist methods in the repression of the forces revolutionaries And democratic, And of the national and racial minorities within the country itself (as happens especially in the United

However, After there Second War worldwide, the imperialism has nowhere succeeded in creating a basis of mass fascist as This was THE case In THE years 1930, without doubt, And It is important of THE mention, in reason of disgust what do you feel Again of wide pans of there population _ face to crimes awful perpetrated by THE fascists. It is precisely For that that THE fascism appears today And will appear Again has the future below of the new forms, with of new slogans has there research of partisans . Already during of 7th - Congress of the International com-

a communist, Dimitrov noticed that unlike German fascism, THE fascism American tent of se TO DO pass for a defender of the Constitution and "American democracy ". In To the extent that the old fascism of Italian and German inspiration has been discredited throughout the world, neo-fascism will strive to adapt to this new context. A current example is the creation of word Linksfaschismus (" fascism of LEFT ") by the reactionary protectors of West Germany's neofascists.

The creation of this term shows very clearly that, on the one hand, the very large part of the bourgeoisie of the FRG rejects THE fascism, but that, else go, THE The creators of this term feared that anticommunism would lose its vigor. This is why they are now trying to create an atmosphere of fear and revulsion towards there LEFT policy in there presenting as there source from which the danger of fascism emanates. To prove existence _ of a such "fascism of LEFT", we point the finger at the activity of certain terrorist groups proclaiming themselves LEFT, as there "Band Baader-Meinhoff", Who are often in cahoots with police agents provocateurs and serve as a pretext to reinforce in the bourgeoisie the atmosphere of pogrom against the left, and more particularly against the communists, and to justify police persecution and measures of repression against them, in a word to create favorable conditions At development of true fascism.

However, today the greatest danger for rights democratic of the masses And For THE bourgeois parliamentary system in the main imperialist countries does not come from the fascist organizations, but from the major parties of the imperialist bourgeoisie (the CDU/CSU confederation in the FRG), from the governments

reactionaries and imperialist military coalitions, and more particularly NATO. The example of Greece has watch that in the absence of a base fascist among the masses, NATO could replace them to help set up an anti-popular fascist dictatorship in a country of a big importance strategic.

There policy of restriction And of dismantling of the democratic rights dictated by the interests of monopolies, politics of militarization And armament anti-communist and anti-Soviet paves the way for the emergence of a new fascism.

The contribution of the peoples of the country socialists has there struggle world _ against THE strengths fascists se concentrate Above all on the strengthening of economic, political and military of their country, on there consolidation of moral unity And policy of all THE classes Who constitute these peoples And on there solidarity active of all THE opponents of imperialism, At fascism And has there reaction of the fighting peoples .

Chronicle of relations between the NSDAP and monopoly capital from October 1923 to 30 January 1933 (selection):

October 1923 Fritz Thyssen hands over At general Ludendorff 100000 gold marks For THE NSDAP.

November 8/9, 1923 Putsch of Hitler And of Ludendorff in Munich.

February 24 - ¹ **April 1924** Trial against Hitler, Ludendorff and their accomplices has Munich. THE court allow has Hitler of TO DO of trial a tribune For there propaganda of

necessary".

NSDAP. He avoids - according to the statements of the official SPD Hoegner, quoted as witness At trial-" to examine Also thoroughly than the method of financing the Hitler movement would have been

HAS leave of 1925 Thyssen start again has finance the NSDAP, GOOD that he either member others gone - first from the Center Party, then from the DNVP.

1926 Hitler speak A little everywhere in Germany in front of assemblies of big entrepreneurs.

1927 Wilhelm Keppler, industrial of there chemistry, adheres to the NSDAP.

July 4, 1927 Emil Kirdorf, A of the industrial THE most powerful in the Ruhr, made personal contact with Hitler and shortly after left the DNVP for the NSDAP. Her map of member door THE number 71.032. He arranges for the NSDAP to receive subsidies from the political fund of cartel mining.

1928 Thyssen finances a huge part of the purchase and there transformation of there "Home Brown" (Brunes Haus) to Munich.

1928 After Hugenberg's arrival as head of the DNVP, Kirdorf come back At DNVP And guits THE NSDAP. He nevertheless maintains friendly personal relations with Hitler And do in sort that THE NSDAP keep on going has receive _ of the subsidies of industry heavy.

1928 Otto Dietrich, son-in-law of Reismann-Grone, the pan-Germanist And editor of newspaper of industry heavy of

Rhineland-Westphalia, until then business editor at the *Deutschnationalen München-Augsburger Abendzeitung*, became a member of the NSDAP and established more intense contacts with heavy industry in the Ruhr. He takes the lead of there section journalistic of NSDAP.

1928/29 The NSDAP program is modified, we add new comments to famous "25 points "which suppress attacks on capital and limit them to capital "raptor" Jewish.

August 1929 Emil Kirdorf is guest of honor at the NSDAP national congress in Nuremberg.

1929/30 Alliance narrow between THE DNVP And THE NSDAP in there campaign For THE referendum on THE "Plan Young".

At more late At beginning 1930 Beginning of support of banker Kurt von Schröder in the NSDAP.

14 september 1930 Big success electoral For THE NSDAP in federal elections. The millions of entrepreneurs bring in 6 million votes.

25 september 1930 Hitler sworn of respect there legality At the trial in front there Court supreme of Reich against THE National Socialist officers of there *Reichswehr*, Ludin, Scheringer and Wendt.

END september 1930 Walter Tengelmann, director of there *Gelsenkirchner Bergwerk AG* , adheres At NSDAP.

Autumn 1930 Hjalmar Schacht do A journey to UNITED STATES For convince THE Tops representatives of there finance

American one government Nazi born would present no danger for American investments in Germany, but would on the contrary constitute a bulwark against Bolshevism.

October 5 1930 Hitler talks with THE Chancellor Bruning. Afterwards, he eat with THE director of there Deutsche Bank and Disconto-Gesellschaft, Emily George von. Stauss. Stauss (at the time still a member of the DVP) begins has sustain THE NSDAP.

END 1930 Walter Funk, until then editor of the journal intended has there big bourgeoisie Berliner Börsenzeitung, joins the NSDAP and becomes economic advisor to the management of NSDAP And man of contact with THE environments of the bank And of the industry.

1930 Prince Augustus-Wilhelm Hohenzollern ("Auwi") enters In there HER.

December 25, 1930 general von Seeckt declared In the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung: "HAS there question of know if the participation of left Hitler has A government is desirable, I answer without reserve A big "Yes"." In THE even number of This newspaper, Hjalmar Schacht declared:

" If he East impossible of direct without THE social democrats, SO, he East All Also impossible of direct without the members of a extreme RIGHT All Also strong.»

In THE even number, THE Junker von Oldenburg-Januschau states: "I am convinced that THE NSDAP has THE right undeniable _ participate In THE future has there training of governments."

Beginning 1931 THE leader Nazi And assassin Paul Schulz talks has Essen with of the tycoons of there Ruhr Who decidetooth of finance has the future THE NSDAP has competition of 10000 marks by month.

1st - March 1931 The women of Fritz Thyssen adheres to the NSDAP.

Beginning of summer 1931 Guillaume, THE prince heir, personally contacts Hitler.

Summer 1931 Hitler has a few interviews secrets with industrialists .

June 1931 Prince Auguste-Guillaume officially takes left For Hitler.

19 June 1931 Interview by Edmund Stinnes with Hitler.

9 July 1931 Letter from Edmund Stinnes to Hitler: "The expansion of the German space towards the east and south-east of Europe does not seem to me possible today by pushing back the borders but by erasing them considerably ... However, to be successful, any solution to the Eastern problem requires the agreement of London and Washington. I know very well from the conversation we had, dear Mr. Hitler, that you are entirely aware of the limits of what is today possible And that your intention East of born cross them that with caution, not has not, a walk after another. I hope you succeed in this immense task. Who consists has curb THE passions Who se are awake. I guard a whole trust..."

27 July 1931 Request addressed has Hindenburg by L'' Association _ of policy economic Frankfurt am Main",

in agreement with THE president of L'" Union of the patriotic associations ", Rudiger von Goltz: "Your Excellency! The opposition national East there last chance of Germany [...] And We, leaders of the economy, [...] there let's support. [...] We born want to not of a cut of state, but just the execution of the fundamental principle of democracy: THE power come back At left national THE more strong."

10 october 1931 Firsts negotiations of president von Hindenburg with Hitler And Goering on there participation of Nazis has there training of a government.

11/12 october 1931 Meeting in Harzburg of the "National opposition" (DNVP, Stahlhelm, NSDAP...)

27 october 1931 CF von Siemens is invited by General Electric Company has come talk has New York in front tops _ representatives of there finance American. He in take the opportunity to ask for their understanding and benevolence has respect of NSDAP. In This speech, he explains between others this: "We does not sufficiently appreciate its true value that it is the disinterestedness of its movement And his Tops ideals national Who attract in his ranks of the youth from of all THE classes. They are the true supporters of Hitler and the backbone of the National Socialist Party [...] The profound goal of Hitler's government is the struggle against socialism, that is to say against THE Marxism [...] He against there supremacy unbridled parliamentarism as it is unfortunately provided for in our constitution. The German people [...] is not not wall For this shape of there democracy.»

December 1931 Fritz Thyssen becomes member of the NSDAP.

Wilhelm Mann, member of there direction of IG-Farben, joins the NSDAP.

26 January 1932 Hitler's speech to several hundred monopolists at the *Industrieklub* in Dusseldorf, arranged by Fritz Thyssen.

27 January 1932 Secret meeting at Chateau Landsberg in Thyssen of the representatives of The union of the steelworks (Thyssen, Poensgen, Vögler) with Hitler, Goering And Röhm to about of there training of a government Nazi.

FEBRUARY 1932 Interview between Friedrich Flick And Hitler.

19 March 1932 THE big industrial Paul Reusch concludes a deal with Hitler stipulating that THE organs of press controlled by Reusch (Munich Neueste Nachrichten, Frankischer Kurier) will not attack not Hitler At course of the campaign For THE presidential elections.

3 april 1932 THE prince heir Guillaume calls has elect Hitler president.

12 april 1932 In a letter has Hitler, Hjalmar Schacht writes that a group of men expressed their willingness to finance with him an institution charged with studying the possibility of reconciling the economic ideas of National Socialism with existence of the economy private.

He would have declared himself ready " in agreement with some Western friends to ensure spiritual direction over the work has this place. » A few weeks later, he opened an office called "Dr Hjalmar Schacht Design Office". finance in major part by Fritz Thyssen and Paul Reusch.

Beginning 1932 Creation of the "Circle of support" by monopolists under the leadership of Wilhelm Keppler. This circle of support (Who will become more late THE "circle friends _ " of Himmler) se composed during its creation of a dozen of monopolists of All first plan Who met monthly to discuss support measures At NSDAP And of orientation of her policy.

June 1932 Göring assures Flick of support for future government Nazi For there defense of his interests in the frame of "the case Gelsenkirchen.

5 august 1932 Meeting between von Schleier, the minister of the army, And Hitler. Schleier promises has Hitler to intervene with of president to appoint Hitler as chancellor.

August 13, 1932 Interview between Hitler And THE president von Hindenburg. Below the influence of the Junkers And of the nationalist industrialists , Hindenburg accepted of appoint Hitler chancellor of a office Who would lean on a parliamentary majority , but not of a office having of special powers . Hitler, however, insisted on having as chancellor THE same powers that Bruning And Papen.

September 1932 Hitler encounter has new of the industrial _ of there Ruhr At Castle Landsberg of Fritz Thyssen.

Autumn 1932 Paul Silverberg, important industrial of the Ruhr and member of the board of directors of *Deutsche Bank*, takes contact with Hitler And George Strasser.

19 november 1932 Request addressed by of the monopolists and leading Junkers to President von Hindenburg him asking of appoint Hitler has there chancellery: "We let's see In This movement national which grips the people the promising beginning of a new era Who will allow has the economy German of se raise by removing antagonism between classes. We believe that many sacrifices will still be necessary, but they will only be made willingly if the majority of this national movement occupies a preponderant place in the government. By trusting there responsibility of direct A office presidential office endowed with the best material and human forces in leader of more big band national, We We will avoid the weaknesses and errors inherent in any mass movement..."

November 1932 Otto Meynen And Franz Reuters, editors of the confidential employers' magazine *Deutsche Führerbriefe*, converse has there request of Paul Silverberg with Hitler in his Berlin headquarters », the Kaiserhof Hotel.

November 1932 At the request of Carl Bosch, Chairman of the Board of Directors of IG-Farben, Bütefisch and Gattineau, directors of IG-Farben, talk with Hitler, which assures them that synthetic gasoline production would be subsidized by A possible government directed by the Nazis.

Early December 1932 Power struggle between Göring, the trusted man of Thyssen and Schacht, and Gregor Strasser, the favorite of IG-Farben, to know who would have the most influence on the political line of the party. Strasser had to step aside in the face of Göring and abandoned all

his positions within the party. The ousting of Strasser pushed the industrialists who had not yet declared themselves in favor of a dominant position for the NSDAP in a government has TO DO to hush up their reluctance.

- 4 January 1933 Hitler talks with von Papen in the villa of banker Kurt von Schröder has Cologne. They agree on the formation of a cabinet by Hitler And on THE lines essential of program of This government.
- 7 **January 1933 Meeting between** important monopolists And Hitler In there House of Kirchdorf.
- 28 January 1933 Schleier East strength has resign.
- **30 January 1933** Training of office of Hitler; beginning of there dictatorship fascist in Germany.

54 _Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

- 1. Lenin, *Imperialism, stadium supreme of capitalism*, Complete works, volume 22, Paris-Moscow, p. 320.
- $2. \quad Lenin, \ A \ \textit{caricature of Marxism} \ , \ Complete \ Works, \ volume \ 23, \ Paris-Moscow, \ p. \ 44.$
- George Dimitrov, The offensive of fascism And THE tasks of the International Communist in the struggle for the unity of the working class in the fight against fascism, Selected Works, Volume 1, p. 595. Editions in Foreign Languages. Sofia 1966.
- 4. *Ibidem* , p.596
- Carl Marx And Friedrich Engels, THE Manifest of Left communist, Studies Marxists no. 41, EPO, 1998.
- 6. Dimitrov, op. cit., p.603
- 7. Erich Matthias, Documentation: Der Untergang der Social democracy 1933, in: Vierteljahres Hefte for Zeitgeschichte, Stuttgart, 2. Heft, April 1956, pp 196 And sq.
- 8. Ibidem, p. 185
- 9. Bertolt Brecht, There resistible ascension by Arturo $\it Ui$, editions of the Ark.

Chapter 2

Hitler And THE capital * THE true million behind Hitler

THE NSDAP reborn THE 27 FEBRUARY 1925, After that the ban of left, consecutive At putsch of november 1923, was lifted on January 7 in Prussia, on February 16 in Bavaria, and subsequently in all other states.¹

This new foundation attracted little attention from the masses in Germany.

However, of the THE beginning, THE NSDAP "
refounded » enjoys support _ caring of some circles of
there bourgeoisie. And only A year After there
refoundation, Hitler was introduced into clubs and
salons where people gathered monopolists of scale For to
propose to be with his side THE Saviour struggling against
THE Marxism And THE Bolshevism.

On February 28, 1926, Hitler had the opportunity to speak before *the Hamburger National Club* ² And, between June 1926 And December _ 1927, This is not not less of five times that he was the guest of industrial of there Ruhr ³.

^{*} Published In Blätter for German and international Politics, Cologne, notebooks 7 And 8/1978, p. 842-860 And 993-1009.

These meetings, Hitler's speeches and their reception by his listeners are extremely instructive for understanding the link which united the monopoly bourgeoisie and the NSDAP. About this performance from February 28 to Hamburg, we can read In A writing official Nazi of the year 1939: "Adolf Hitler had [...] already spoken once [...] has Hamburg. However, not in front A wide audience [...], but In THE circle extremely farm of a club policy. He it was of National club von 1919, a association who mattered, as we said Again has this era, gratin _ of there Company And of world of the economy 4." THE founder _ of National club was THE banker Max von Schinckel, of the very important Norddeutsche Bank und Discontogesellschaft. 5 The old chancellor Cuno, director of HAPAG, was also a member and had even been president of the Nationalklub 6 for a time. At the start of 1926, the club numbered between 400 And 450 members.⁷

THE director of session presented Hitler to Hamburg shipowners, shipbuilders and large merchants in of the words Who exceeded of far there politeness with which he was agreed of receive his hosts And which was equivalent Already has a brand of sympathy: "Gentlemen, it is actually not necessary to introduce with long speeches the guest that We have honor of receive This evening. In a short time, he made a name for himself through his political activity. He East between In there life public After there END of the war. Her commitment energetic For there defense of its beliefs him has worth In THE circles THE more raised the respect, esteem and admiration of all. We are very happy that he either among We This evening. It is a joy shared by the members of the club, who came in such large numbers this evening [...] The event organized this evening by the club has attracted people like perhaps none before 8. " Hitler started below of the applause fed A

exposed Who lasted several hours. 9 At center of her exposed, he put there need to exterminate THE Marxism No not by simple violence, but by a violence resting like the Marxism on a vision of world.

Feigning naivety, Jochmann never ceases to be surprised that of the " men age wall with a Good experience of there nature human And having accomplished of big merits _ professionals have could succumb has the influence demagogic _ of a politician novice 10." In do, if we examine the speech carefully, there is no reason to be surprised: Hitler quite simply made these gentlemen understand, by all honesty And in all clarity, that her program was their program. It was for this that he was again applauded in the manner that usually accompanies brutal statements. He also sought to convince her audience that none of the big gone bourgeois in which until then they had placed all their hopes was not in measure to accomplish This that they considered as necessary. There majority of the men present did not take obviously not these arguments At serious. For them, alone of the gone " serious » as THE Left popular national German (DNVP) And THE Left popular German (DVP) were fit to govern. But the eloquent guest had All has do reason on A point : we born would come not to end the abhorred Republic without the support of the masses. And if Hitler intended to bring together the masses still on the left who would never be touched by the DNVP or the DVP, such an enterprise should be welcomed and bring A support adequate.

THE speech Hamburger of Hitler was A standard speech. All THE speech pronounced more late by Hitler in front of monopolists will follow the same pattern of structure and of argument, All as This first speech followed _ THE plan of her famous memorandum of 1922.11

The following extracts sufficiently shed light on why And how Hitler won membership enthusiastic about monopolists. For him, it was clear that the bourgeoisie had failed politically, but he gave has this failure a explanation All has do flattering: "Germany is not not aisle has her loss by intellectuality, Or I should say for lack of intellectuality. What we missed, because that OUR irrigation blood its blocked, It is the will, the brutal will. If our bourgeois parties, based solely on intellectuality, had had even a fraction of this brutal and unsparing force with which communism is endowed, Germany would never have fallen so low 12."

Hitler And her "movement" were loans has give has the bourgeoisie "the brutal will" necessary, insofar as we THE door "towards THE high". He explained clearly that "THE blood bourgeois» was For him THE blood THE more precious: "Gentlemen, THE blood bourgeois, is this the one Who sabotages the struggle And stabs THE forehead In THE back? Never! (Heavy applause) Bourgeois blood flowed for 4 1/2 years, and in torrents [...] That was bourgeois blood. Those Who se are revolted against their own country, This was not there bourgeoisie, This was not not of the bourgeois, but scum, pathetic scum, pathetic traitors. (Well done!) If we had do to flow the blood of the latter on the front, it would probably have flowed more easily on the ground that THE blood of lives human precious 13."

These gentlemen understood it very well: Hitler criticized them for not having sufficiently defended their own cause in 1918, for not having shed enough workers' blood. He was giving them a false trial, because they had done everything their power allowed them to do. of TO DO has this regard. But someone Who was decided has pour of blood without respect And brutally, And has

constitute For that A movement of mass deserved Let us not lose sight of him and think of him when the opportunity arises.

As to At content of the his declarations, they born could only acquiesce being given that Hitler born did that repeat This Who was became Since there Revolution A place common _ For there RIGHT, Above all For THE Pan-Germanists and the nationalists Germans. He born did that to pull even more radical conclusions than the DNVP, which in the meantime was mounted At government: "We must consider _ politically a question fundamental: who is it Who has cause THE decline of Germany? There ignorance of the Marxist danger [...] It is essential to know that, in this State, more than half of all adults, men and women, have ideas consciously anti-German. There is therefore on one side "International" bloc and on the other THE bloc of "Nationalists" 14. " " If communism comes out Today winner, two million of people will go to the scaffold. On the other hand, if the right emerged victorious and we tightened the screws strongly, we would immediately hear shout: we born can not to act Also "cruelly", this will too much far! 15 waThe question of bearing of Germany passes by extermination of the ideology Marxist in Germany . If this ideology is not not eradicated, Germany will never regain its splendor 16." "There are fifteen million people who have consciously and voluntarily anti-national ideas, and as long as these fifteen million of people, Who represent the most lively and strongest part of society, will not be brought back In THE lap of feeling And of there common national sensitivity, any talk about growth and THE bearing of Germany is not that babbling without the lesser meaning 17. " " There destruction And extermination _ [of the ideology Marxist], It is All other thing

that This that project THE gone bourgeois. THE aim to which they aspire THE gone bourgeois is not not extermination, but an electoral success [...] It would be quite different if we decided has Really to struggle against. Mon of among We will stay to the ground: either Marxism exterminates us, or we exterminate it down to the roots. Such a formula would lead naturally has This one day a strength directed alone, as is the case today in Italy. In Italy, one ideology, one force directs and crushes and destroys the other without regard And born hidden not that THE fight born will be finished that when the other will be definitively defeated without any remaining nothing $^{\mbox{\tiny 18.}}\mbox{"}$ " When we understand that it is vital to break THE Marxism, all THE means are good For reach our end. Firstly, a movement which has set itself this goal must address itself to the broadest possible masses, to the masses with whom Marxism itself struggles. There Mass is the source of all force. " Because in there mass alone resides this strength primitive what is "unilaterality" 20, this simplism, this inability to understand the other Who We cause so much of fear, has We Who we locate In of more high spheres [...] Understanding confers has intellectuality there solidity of granite, Who will be for the wide mass A support wavering [...] This Who East stable, it is THE feeling of hate, a passion human a lot less easy has shake that one opinion of lesser value based on scientific reasoning. An estimation can to change, there hate personal remains

"This wide mass, this mass infatuated of Marxism who stubbornly fights for him, is the only weapon for him movement Who wanna to break THE Marxism [...] But if a movement wanna urge there wide mass in knowing that he can only achieve this with his help, and if the mission that We We let's fix has as stake there survival of there Nation, we have SO THE right superior of resort has all THE

means possible in order to reach THE aim desired 22." " If I succeed in bringing the broad masses back into the bosom of the Nation, Who me will do of the reproaches on THE means used? 23 "

" If We let's win, THE Marxism will be exterminated to the root [...] We will not rest as long as there remains a newspaper, a organization, A establishment school or cultural that We we will not have not eradicated, so much that we will not have brought back the last Marxist to the right path or that we will not have exterminated him. There is no not of half measure 24."

HAS there END of her speech, THE patricians Hamburger, inflexible And worthy, did has Hitler a "big ovation " And se rallied has him in calling out " Heil » with jubilation. 25

As the extracts reproduced clearly show, which differentiated Hitler of the others leaders of there nationalist right was there promise of carry out has GOOD two missions which were very close to the hearts of the reactionary circles of there class manager Since a long time, And more especially _ Since there Revolution of October in Russia And the revolution of november in Germany: exterminate movement _ worker And "to bring back In THE breast of there Nation" the hitherto socialist workers. It is precisely the determination to fulfill these two missions which gave the fascism German - as that had Already summer THE case before in Italy - her character fascist.

He seems obvious that Hitler saved has his listeners millionaires -as This was Also THE case In his speech in front THE Ruhr magnates - the anti-Semitic tirades which constituted there base of his speech of mass. THE

"revisionists" bourgeois, as Jochmann Or Turner, have desired All of following put that has there dump monopolists seeing it as a clever attempt at deception of there go of Hitler. According to Jochmann, Hitler would have voluntarily deceived THE members of Nationalclub in

their hiding of many things that they would not have never could have suspected. As for Turner, he thinks Hitler would have tempered her anti-Semitism in front Kirdorf because he had noticed that This last born THE shared not. ²⁶ This born are just crude attempts at rehabilitation. The anti-Semitic remarks of the Nazis were uttered day after day in front of all without one alone of these gentlemen does not have deemed necessary from TO DO THE reproach has Hitler.

For what? There German political right was already anti- Semitic GOOD Before one Hitler in do her program. On the contrary, Hitler became anti-Semitic by dint, among other things, of associating with the Pan-Germanists, whose leader Class declared in October 1918, during a meeting of the association's steering committee, that all Pan-Germanists were SO anti-Semitic. Kirdorf, Who had been previously openly philosemite, "East today of a notice All has do opposite And East even became violently anti-Semitic, like all members of the industry heavy ". It was the same in the army and the nobility Prussian, Who were "with vehemence", but this was not enough: "The whole people had to be there and participate ". And he added that he "born would step back in front Nothing " to achieve his goal. 27

Hitler left anti-Semitism of side when he addressed to monopolists For there simple And Good reason that he considered that anti-Semitism At even title that the famous ideology national socialist were of the means for manipulate THE masses. HAS What that him would he have served as to present All That has these listeners there? By against, This who _ was essential, And This that Hitler tried of to explain to them was to transmit to the masses and instill in them with strength a "design of world".

"Born think not that someone can rally THE masses _without their give THE feeling that his beliefs are

Hitler born could not expose more clearly THE characmother demagogic And there function manipulative of Nazi ideology. This Hamburg speech, like the others speech pronounced by Hitler in front of the monopolists, demonstrate clearly that Hitler proposed has these powerful men to rid them once and for all of their principal enemy, THE movement worker, And that these Powerful men welcomed this offer with enthusiasm. It was not for nothing that so much trouble was taken to keep these speeches secret. Indeed, if we had become widely aware of it, it would have been much easier to movement worker of reveal to masses there true nature of the NSDAP and to denounce it as an agency of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

A " left of the workers " For THE entrepreneurs

After its refoundation, the party leadership remained in Munich. The new statutes not only gave Hitler dictatorial powers, but also granted him the direction of band local Munich, This Who was already included in the statutes of 1922. 29 But the most important development At breast of left its do feel In THE north and THE North West of Germany 30, where Hitler charged Gregor Strasser to install THE left. 31 The latter, president of the Gau de Bavaria southern until the ban of NSDAP, was Already THE leader effective of NSDAP in Germany North Before that Hitler born THE charge of this assignment.

After the banning of the NSDAP, some of its leaders, led by Gregor Strasser, formed elections regional And municipal of beginning of the year 1924 as well than to elections federal THE "Block social-popular » (Völkischsozialer Block), a coalition with other populist parties among which we will especially distinguish the Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei . Grace has this coalition, Gregor Strasser had got A mandate of deputy. A little after THE elections, he was tent of transform this alliance in A conglomerate sustainable, with THE aim of become the receptacle of the numerous populist and national socialist groups exploded And of form Thus THE left of mass populist and nationalist. Entering the federal leadership of this coalition, Gregor Strasser, Hitler's representative, supported this attempt. 33 Hitler himself, from his comfortable Landsberg prison, declared himself neither for nor against this merger 34, especially since Hermann Esser and Julius Treicher, THE leaders of there Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft, the organization which succeeded the NSDAP in Bavaria, the fought.

Shortly after his release conditional, after nine months of detention, and the lifting of the ban on THE NSDAP, Hitler born took not place In there federal leadership of National socialist Freiheitspartei but used _ has refound THE NSDAP, This Who led a break with Ludendorff And von Graefe. Graefe, of her side, put back on foot THE German Freiheitspartei (17.2.1925). A very strong rivalry must then have arisen between these two parties. And a struggle relentless, Above all in Germany North, Or THE DVFP had a Good length in advance on the NSDAP because of the latter's ban since 1922 And of there merger of there mostly of the groups of NSDAP with the DVFP. 35 This is why, during the new founding of the NSDAP, the Nazi leaders wanted to annex the more possible of groups local of VF from Germany North. Person was not better place For this stain than Gregor Strasser, who placed himself directly at the disposal of Hitler of the that was socket there decision of refound THE left. His activity within the national leadership of the Nationalistische Freiheitspartei gave has Strasser A excellent overview of the links between the party organizations of the North. He y was known And recognized by all And had many _ contacts personal with THE leaders local. Moreover, in so much that member of Reichstag, he had there possibility of free travel throughout the country thanks to ticket of the " representatives of people", A advantage of a value invaluable For THE development of a

organization. 36 The development of the NSDAP in the Ruhr was particularly important. He was decided of refound THE NSDAP in Rhineland And in Westphalia, has Hanover And in Pomerania at a meeting of the heads of Gaus and sectors of the former National Socialist Party (also called National Socialist Freiheitspartei Grossdeutschland .) Who

66 Hitler, the irresistible rise?

took place on February 22, 1925 in Hamm, under the presidency of Gregor Strasser. ³⁷ In March 1926, THE Gauss of there Ruhr du NSDAP ³⁸ were gathered in A alone And unique *Gau* de there Ruhr ³⁹, Who played A role central For THE North German NSDAP in the years that followed. Indeed, it is especially in this bastion of the workers' movement that THE NSDAP dut prove that he was able of fulfill Hitler's ambitious promises to crush Marxism And conquer THE workers has there thought national. It is also over there that THE NSDAP found her first and most active moral, political and financial support in the ranks of the monopolists THE more powerful.

countless personal relationships to "nationalists » of there bourgeoisie, civil servants, officers of the Reichswehr and to circles of "the economy" of there Ruhr. The Pan-Germanist association Alldeutscher Verband played A big role. He East TRUE that THE leader of the Pan-Germanists, class, had strongly condemned the November putsch of Hitler and Ludendorff because this action had led to the collapse of his own conception of dictatorship, but by October 1924, he had violently protested In her newspaper against a possible expulsion of Hitler (All THE everyone knew that he was Austrian) And certified that he had by his engagement voluntary during there war And her struggle "against the Marxism and communism ", " proven his belonging At people German And her dedication has there patriotic cause In a measure difficult has exceed". L' " exclusion » of a such man of there " community German " in preventing it by there of " serve her people" would be a

"monstrosity". 40 There socket of position of leader of the pan- Germanists confirmed what had already been very clearly shown THE trial against Hitler And his accomplices, has know that the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie

Of there even manner, her relationship At beginning of the 1920s with the Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei, and especially with General Ludendorff, had worked in favor of the NSDAP in bourgeois circles. Indeed, Ludendorff had been during the First World War a great representative of the interests of heavy industry in the Ruhr 42 and it is precisely through Ludendorff that Hugo Stinnes (via Minoux) And Fritz Thyssen had come into contact with the NSDAP in 1923 and had already this era supported, even financially.

Emil Kirdorf was also interested in the Nazi Party at the time. He tell himself: " My first attempt in order to to enter in contact with This movement traced back has the year 1923, has the time of occupation of there Ruhr. » During of a visit to his brother in Munich, Kirdorf continues to recount, "I taken takes part in a National Socialist assembly with hope of see Adolf Hitler And of hear it talk. » Unfortunately, it was not Hitler who spoke, but a other speaker. Despite All, "there strong impression that

This assembly increased my interest in the movement which, shortly after, precisely on November 9, 1923, disappeared into the background after its attempt . of take THE power 43."

As THE show THE first travel of Hitler in the Ruhr of the 1926, we had guard In THE circles industrial _ there Ruhr a big sympathy For him And For her

"movement". THE do that one big part of the members of the Free Corps who surrendered during the occupation of the Ruhr by THE French has a resistance active, has of the acts of sabotage by example, were either Already has members of the NSDAP at the time, or later became members, must have been contributed. There struggle illegal active against there occupying force had received the secret support of almost all circles of there bourgeoisie Thus that of the authorities Germans. ⁴⁴ Her direction was between THE hands of there <code>Reichswehr</code>, which rejected however all relationship with THE actions of sabotage and THE organisms Who THE perpetrated. ⁴⁵

Of course, a large part of the relationships that were formed At course of the month of This that we knows as "THE fight of there Ruhr» between of a go THE members of groups illegal And else go of the officers of the *Reichswehr*, civil servants and industrialists, continued thereafter. It is well known that a large part of the Nazi officials in the Rhine-Ruhr territory took part in the "active resistance" *46.

Carl Kaufmann, son entrepreneur, first Gauleiter of Gau of Rhineland of North in 1925, first Gauleiter of Gau of Ruhr-Westphalia in 1926 And of This Who will become THE Gau of there Ruhr, was First of all member of a brigade of bad reputation, there Brigade Erhart, And Next of Killinger's more gleaming free body step. Member of the NSDAP of the 1921, he was A of the leaders of the Ruhr sabotage commandos.

iron. Friedrich Karl Florian, official mining has Buer, founder of band local of Buer of NSDAP And, more later (1930), president of the Gau from Düsseldorf, was a member of the "Alliance defensive And offensive

popular German »

And participated has there "resistance active".

Erich Koch, official of the paths of iron, son of a leader workshop from Elberfeld, member of NSDAP of there Ruhr since 1922, sector leader of the NSDAP in Essen in 1927, more late Gauleiter substitute of Gau of there Ruhr, was in 1921, like Kaufmann, member of Killinger's Freikorps and participated has there "resistance active » In the surroundings by Albert Leo Schlageter, sentenced has dead For sabotage by the French. Schlageter was also himself a member of the "Grossdeutsche Arbeiterpartei", a of the organizations founded by the leader of the Free Corps Gerhard Rossbach, replacing THE NSDAP has the time of her prohibition. 47 He was a notorious National Socialist and was extremely militant in nationalist circles for the NSDAP.

THE ground was Already GOOD prepared For that there The nationalist bourgeoisie of the Ruhr welcomed the NSDAP. In 1926-1927 new elements Who incited some circles industrialists of the Ruhr to give the NSDAP attention and support increased.

First of all, the failure of the putsch legal » scheduled and prepared by Heinrich Class beginning 1926. 48 After the elec-

tion of Hindenburg has there presidency of Reich, Class And others _ Pan-Germanists of first plan, among which Hugenberg and Kirdorf believed they could carry out a coup d'état legal with her help. THE preparations were so well advanced that we had already established a government list and drafted the text of a decree-law which was to be adopted directly After THE change of government and Who had to repeal there Constitution, dissolve all parliaments, to suspend all of the rights fundamental And to punish by there dead all shape of resistance against the sponsors of putsch. 49 THE government Prussian, put At fluent of these maneuvers, ordered THE 11 May 1926 a search at the house of a series of people involved, among which THE fat industrial Emily Kirdorf and Albert Vögler. 50 All there press of RIGHT took hold of these searches For start a violent campaign against the "police actions against blameless bourgeois". She put strongly in advance THE do that THE authorities same had All interest has to choke THE facts observed, Hindenburg in person being mixed has this affair. Failure of this attempt of putsch has without none doubt convinced Class, Hugenberg and Kirdorf that it was not possible of to modify THE reports of this manner, but that he had to strive of create a base among THE masses in order of to spill there Republic parliamentary of the interior. They only attached more importance to "haranguer _ " who was Hitler, who had already once proven that he was capable of setting up a mass movement with his party. national". Kirdorf in particular, of less in less satisfied by there line that printed Westarp At DNVP, feeds A strong interest

THE NSDAP.

Following has the election of Hindenburg has there presidency, THE People's Party national German had started Since 1925 A

change progressive of line policy And estimated that the defense of the interests of the circles agricultural And industrialists who THE supported born could se TO DO that at breast of government, and not in opposition, a line well defined by the expression Hinein in den Staat! ("HAS the interior of the State!") January 1925, THE DNVP had For there first once taken go has A government of there Republic of Weimar, but had taken advantage of the conclusion of the Locarno Pact to leave the government coalition in October 1925. 51 When a new government was formed in January 1927, with important decisions has take in the domain of the economy And of there policy social, the DNVP was again subjected to strong pressure from of a big part of the industrial Who se were holding behind the scenes And of The union agricultural of Reich" (Reichslandbund) for enter In THE cabinet. Their entrance born their was granted by THE members of there coalition that at price of heavy political concessions: German nationalist ministers last recognize there constitution of Weimar, they had so much critiqued until there, And THE minister of the German nationalist Interior Walter von Keudell had to officially to announce that he would guarantee THE respect of this constitution. 52 And as if that born was enough not, they last also accept the Locarno Pact, the adoption of which had served them of pretext For to leave THE government. Finally, they last even consent has a renewal of there "Law for the Protection of the Republic, against which the DNVP had led in her time a campaign incendiary and relentless. There line new And more realistic of there direction of DNVP corresponded without none doubt has the state of mind of a big number of voters of DNVP, but For certain radically nationalist and reactionary DNVP activists, She was synonymous of a treason impargiveable of the principles founders "nationalists.

72 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

When the Pan-German Union called for demonstrations to "the opposition national » against THE government, and therefore also against the then leadership of the DNVP And his ministers, She born se did that the echo of an atmosphere widely widespread opposition to members

"versatile" of the management of the DNVP. 53 There were many who left in search of a new homeland policy Or would be better preserved THE old foundations of the German National Party, their unconditional rejection of there Republic of Weimar And their hostility to any form of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy. Among them was Emil Kirdorf, who left the DNVP in January 1927 and became a member of the NSDAP.

The attitude And there victory of Hitler At breast of left helped Kirdorf has cross THE not. In effect, In L'" affair of the campaign of expropriation of princes » (Angelegenheit der Fürstenenteignungskampagne), it was Hitler's position which won. While part of the party leadership, led by Gregor and Otto Strasser, was ready to support this campaign, Hitler managed to impose that the NSDAP strongly distance itself from this action which had been initiated by the Communist Party , joined by the SPD under pressure from its members and handled by an apolitical committee under the chairmanship of economist Robert Kuczynski.

There situation was SO enough auspicious In there Ruhr, at the time when Hitler was preparing to launch a propaganda and promotion campaign for the NSDAP. The Nazi leaders of the Ruhr had already invited him several times, but despite the fact that he had accepted, he had always failed them, openly fearing failure due to the strength of the workers' movement in the territory. of there Ruhr And of there determination of the workers of there Ruhr to offer a scathing refusal to the little leader of the fascists.

Thus, after much insistence, Hitler finally agreed to speak on October 24 and 25 in front of closed circles of members (he was then forbidden to speak in audience 54). THE Gauleiter of Westphalia At the time, Franz Pfeffer von Salomon had come to pick him up in Munich, but Hitler drove so slowly that they missed THE train. Hitler, y seeing A presage, refused to take another train. The organizers explained their absence to members Who were waiting for him in vain by a lie according to which Hitler would not have not could come because that he had summer stopped by there police. 55

It was only in 1926 that Hitler dared to venture into the Ruhr, territory of the Reds. In addition to the greater foothold that the NSDAP now enjoyed in the region, the prospect of direct contact with the powerful of the Ruhr And of there Region rhineland has of be decisive In planning this trip.

On June 15, Hitler spoke in Hattingen, the town where he found THE band local of left Nazi THE more powerful throughout the Ruhr. The next day he spoke in Bochum and the day after has Essen 56, In the great room of the house the organization which was only half full. 57 It was on June 18 that the most important event of its history took place. visit: there first appearance of Hitler in front of very important tycoons of there Ruhr. THE Reinisch-Westfälische Zeitung, A of the relay of industry mining of there Ruhr, related THE two appearances of Hitler has Essen in detail and in A style enthusiastic close of the one that we will find later in Nazi newspapers. 58 On June 18, 1926, this newspaper fit A threshing advertising For THE Nazis with the report of Hitler's speech to his supporters has Essen: "It is A open secret that National Socialism matters in the industrial cities of there Ruhr A big number of supporters, of the members

the number of which would cause astonishment if it were revealed. In effect, THE big audience knows little THE work extraordinary of National Socialist leaders. In the Ruhr, the Hitler movement addressed itself almost exclusively to workers , which is why the bourgeois public, which generally knows nothing about the conditions of workers, is not that little inclined has take go At movement Nazi, by disinterest Or because that he THE rejects by principle ⁵⁹."

After to have joked Severing, THE minister of Social Democratic Interior Prussian, has about of the ban to speak in audience pronounced has the encounter of Hitler, the newspaper continues: "How speak Hitler And that he said ? [...] None of his words is not dangerous For the state Or harmful to THE people, but they try of to touch blade And to attract him [...] What Hitler preaches is not class struggle [...] Our national leaders have not succeeded has to go out there thought national of her isolation And were unable to build a base among the mass of the people. Our socialists born are not arrived has anchor THE world of there thought and social desire of the masses in the will to action of the intelligentsia. They run next to each other. However, the principle even of national socialism East to unify both in a single body. According to Hitler, it is not in truth a nationalist who teaches workers to sing patriotic melodies and shout hurray, but rather someone who gives them the weapons they need on all THE plans In THE fight For there life, For live in so much that people [...] Be socialist, It is there even thing. Anyone who wants to be a socialist must help his people to assert themselves In there struggle brutal For there life that se deliver the peoples. This observation should make it possible to forge a new concept of society, with only one possible path: the social strength of the masses must go hand in hand with nationalist thought of the intelligentsia 60."

In THE aim to arrive has A such " socialism ", Hitler promises _ to hitch "THE masses » to tanks of L" intelligentsia », of the ruling class. The newspaper was full of praise:

"We can emit of the reviews on THE details of the declarations of Hitler. But THE bottom of her thought East noble..." The newspaper of world of industry heavy fit a report All Also complete of there benefit of Hitler in front THE tycoons of there Ruhr. THE 20 June 1926, This newspaper _ wrote: "A circle of economists West Germans had request has Adolf Hitler of TO DO in front of the bosses of sector A exposed on THE theme "Policy economical and social in Germany". THE do that this exposed have had such success of crowd of side of the circles of the economy is the best proof of the importance that had already taken the National Socialist movement under the leadership of Hitler. He must to have especially more attracted attention masses that he was addressed All First of all At worker And se

beat For TO DO come out her "soul German" 61."

When THE newspaper returned more late on the event, he explained that Hitler's presentation was attended by about forty industrialists from the Ruhr 62, including Kirdorf, who on this occasion heard Hitler for the first time. 63 Kirdorf felt so concerned by what was said Hitler that, as he THE told himself: "HAS the end, I me am automatically survey And I am go squeeze him there hand 64." Behind this handshake were not millions of supporters - for that we will have to wait some more time - but millions of marks : the 263 million capital of the Gelsenkirchener Bergwerksgesellschaft (Company mining), THE 120 million in shares of The union of the steel mills detained by there Gelsenkirchener Bergwerksgesellschaft or THE 7.5 million of capital _ of cartel coal of there region Rhenish-Westphalian has Who were coming back in 1926 more of the three quarters of

all subsidies granted to the coal sector in Germany. It is Emily Kirdorf Who occupied there function _ of president of honor of advice of *Gelsenberg* (abbreviation used on the stock market) and the cartel coal, that he had based in 1893. ⁶⁵

Turner, THE first of there class of the "experts" revisionists of German monopoly capital, blacked out numerous pages to prove that Kirdorf, 80 years old at the time, was only an isolated, senile case, who would only have represented himself because he did not 'would no longer have had any access to political funds from the industry and organizations that y were affiliates. In besides, THE support financial that he would have could personally bring At left Nazi would have been Really paltry because he would not have possesses that one relatively modest personal fortune and was reportedly known to be a money grabber. ⁶⁶

Apart from the fact that Turner provides no proof of this "little influence " which Kirdorf enjoyed, in addition to the fact that Kirdorf himself says that he served for years as an intermediary between Hitler and industry 67 , he enough of throw A cut eye on there composition of The direction And of advice administration of there Gelsenberg and of cartel For se give back account that he y had Again there enough active members with whose help he would have could impose her will if that had summer necessary. In effect, THE president of committee director of there Gelsenberg was THE director general Ernst Tengelmann, A man to whom Kirdorf could se proud. Him And his son, Walter and Wilhelm, se turned of the 1930 towards THE NSDAP, below the influence of Kirdorf. 68 The sons Walter and Fritz Tengelmann were also members of there direction of there Gelsenberg. 69 And as if This was not not Again enough, THE son-in-law from Kirdorf, Hans Kruger, ancient officer of Marine, was him too member of there direction of there Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks

AG! 70 In addition, on the board of directors sat two other early protectors of Hitler, Fritz Thyssen and Albert Vögler 71, whose political opinions se differentiated has penalty of those of Kirdorf.

He don't was going to not otherwise of cartel coal. Within the board of directors, of which Kildorf was also honorary president, he could at least rely on A second son-in-law, Herbert Kauert, member of The direction of The union steelworks and on Ernst Tegelmann 72. THE character wrong of the declarations of Turner on Kirdorf's impotence and senility is confirmed by the fact that Kirdorf had Again A interview with Hitler in 1933 at Obersalzberg, when he was 86 years old, and took the opportunity to make it clear to him firmly what the wishes of the cartel were coal. 73

Hitler's appearances before industrialists in the Ruhr in the years 1926 and 1927, which we will discuss a little later, also contradict the statements of another revisionist, Iring Fetscher, who appropriated this ascertainment: "This is not not money Who he has open there road of power, money East GOOD more came by there following, attracted by THE power.»

THE Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung resumed in her time to manner concise This that Hitler declared THE 18 June 1926 to these gentlemen about German economic and social policy. As usual, he did not venture into concrete questions but gave his listeners A " broad overview of his thoughts. According to Hitler, no matter what one does in the current system, a ascertainment East inevitable: "In her general trend, evolution go towards THE down 75."

Hitler assured with insistence his listeners on THE makes him would act "For maintaining private property » and that he would protect L'" economy of free walk ", that he

considered as "the order most appropriate economic, if not THE only possible economic order". But there could only be a strong economy in a strong state, and this State could only be created in a "conflict " with Marxism. This, according to Hitler, was the work and mission of movement National Socialist. ⁷⁶ As has Hamburg some month more early, And as he had it Already do at first of the years 20, he their proposed to be with his party the unity of ideological and political shock in the service of their designs.

It can in no way be said that Hitler exercised in a manner any "A radiation demonic", irresistible, on his listeners, Or that he THE have "charmed » (their bourgeois defenders generally use such expressions in order to of "explain » THE choice made by the German monopolists to turn to the NSDAP). They THE judged objectively in function of her usefulness and reliability. We can imagine what came out of this reading there REMARK next published In THE RWZ: "The impression made by Hitler's hour and a half speech can be judged by the high degree of attention with which he was listen And by THE applause Who greeted him has there END 77."

He is in do of a formulation strong cautious. We can deduce from this that he had convinced them of its usefulness and of there reliability of her person, but also that they in no way opposed its objectives. And even though the time had not yet really come in the summer of 1926 to use and of put in place of such people And A such movement , THE little "circle of economists West Germans" has there base of the event could be satisfied of success achieved, a satisfaction that could Again more feel Hitler: he had ceased to be for most people present a figure exotic of distant country of

This performance by Hitler in front of the industrialists of the Ruhr represented SO A turning significant In the story of NSDAP And In THE link maintained by there ruling class with this party and with fascism in general. It is here one link was knotted, A link Who would concern year later year of the circles of more in more wide And born it would be to strengthen itself. This link will not be linear and without crises, but will continue until the most important German monopolies finally agree to give Hitler their preference over all other candidates to take charge of the management of the affairs of the company. German imperialism".

HAS leave of This moment, Hitler was A host regular of "domain from the Ruhr". He made his next presentation to industrialists of there Ruhr THE 1st - December 1926 has Königswinter, and only two days later, on December 3, he spoke has new in front A audience selected entrepreneurs, once _ moreover in Essen. The Essener Anzeiger 78 gave a detailed account of this event. The invited circle could hardly have been more important than in June, because the event had place In there room of music of room of there city, but THE newspaper mentioned only "a public important". This this time, Hitler asked has his listeners two and three quarter hours of attention and the reception was little almost the same as in June: "The assembly welcomed the first part of her speech with reserve And waited for what followed, then interrupted several times to mark her agreement, Who expressed himself has there END by of long

applause 79." The presentation was titled: "Sanitation of people on a national basis 80 ". If you read the content of speech In the Essener Anzeiger, we easily guess what the audience greeted with applause. Immediately in the introduction, Hitler delivered a stunning definition which suggested that he considered the achievement of the expansionist goals of German imperialism to be the central mission of the policy: "The original and noblest way of doing things of there policy East the establishment of a report reasonable between there area And there population, in other words: population growth gives a natural right has an increase in territory. » Still according to the newspaper, Hitler " sees only one way, namely the acquisition of land and soil, to offer new outlets for German industry. This path, however, requires [...] strong power 81."

This aim born could be reached, continued Hitler, by THE "principle of there majority", A argument Who was going to totally In there direction of his listeners because the abandonment of this principle "would ultimately resolve the major problems of people who understood nothing and who were not penetrated that by there stupidity And there cowardice." "To see How much THE principle of there majority was obsolete and improper, he was enough of THE to go out of parliament And of apply it born were it that one times has administration, has the army or the economy: would we let a regiment decide whether it was necessary throw a attack Or No".

For his listeners, THE fascism Italian was the example to follow And, far of deserve of the reviews, he deserved on the contrary of the applause: "THE fascism has in accomplished the miracle of making a rotten people a proud nation conscious of its own value. If we want to achieve This aim, We must take in consideration

In her speech to tycoons of there Ruhr, Hitler explained with all the clarity he desired that he saw it as his mission to encourage the mass of the German people to die in war to conquer space and new markets, and that he felt capable of the convince.

It would be useless to repeat Hitler's speeches so completely if there were not hordes of historians bourgeois For to announce has unison that THE bosses and THE general Who chose Hitler in 1933 as chancellor would have done it without knowing anything of his intentions in policy interior And exterior. There truth history - It is precisely This that prove these first Hitler's speech to the bosses - is completely different : For them, Hitler did not enter in consideration as a candidate has there chancery that because that they knew good and Since a long time that he would do his these goals, their objectives.

On April 27, 1927, Hitler already made his fourth speech in front of the "bosses" (this times In there big room of Essen) on THE theme "Leaders) And mass ". There were now two hundred who responded to the invitation – A a sign that the interest of the powerful in the Ruhr in the Nazi party had already grown at that time. 83

This event was follow up a few weeks more late, on July 4, 1927, by the first meeting between Hitler and the patriarch of the tycoons of there Ruhr, Emily Kirdorf, in the house of the Munich publisher Hugo Bruckmann. Kirdorf later described, in 1935, the genesis of this interview: "I born could more forget Hitler (After that he had heard it during of the assembly has Essen - nes) And I felt _ related has him. I considered SO as providential

there letter that I received of Madam Hugo Bruckmann, a lady that I born knew not Again. She told me that she was a partisan enthusiastic of Adolf Hitler and that she was looking for A AVERAGE of put THE leader of movement national socialist in contact with of the men from the world of economics and to introduce his ideas. She would have First of all tour towards THE prince Carl von Loewenstein ⁸⁵ Who him would have writing that THE alone man Who could be useful has Adolf Hitler In THE world of industry was Emil Kirdorf. Madam Bruckmann came SO has Gastein, where I me found has the time with my women, And he was decided that we would pass through Munich on the way back and would have there A interview with Adolf Hitler. »

For Really TO DO there light on this event, he must add -And Turner THE pass carefully below silence – that Carl zu Lowenstein was director of *Berlin National Club*, This even club Who had Already guest Hitler in 1922 has come TO DO A exposed has Berlin And Who counted from _ members of her direction THE Pan-Germanist Paul Bang and in his advisory board Alfred Hugenberg, Emil Kirdorf, Albert Vögler And of many others industrial, Junkers And men policies extremely hostile has the Republic. ⁸⁷ In addition, another member of the Löwenstein family, Hans von Lowenstein, was in so much that president of The union mining Since 1906 A respondent of Kirdorf. ⁸⁸ Kirdorf continues her description of there encounter:

"The interview lasted four hours And half. Adolf Hitler present in details her program, that I already know the broad outlines from reading his book *Mein Kampf*. When he had finished, I born pus that me to announce in total agreement with All This that he came of say [...] We agreed that THE Fuhrer would summarize In A little write all THE ideas that he had me presented. I him promised to propagate this writing in My own name. He was by elsewhere

decided that Adolf Hitler would come to the region (the Ruhr) and that I would invite some leading figures of the world of industry in order to that he can also present to them his ideas orally. This assembly had also _ place And a series of people y took go."

If Hitler's first presentation to industrialists was Already A event highly significant For the future of NSDAP, this encounter personal between Hitler and Kirdorf was especially more. Little After -THE 1st -august 1927 -Kirdorf _ entered At NSDAP, This that he born tinted absolutely not secret. On the contrary, he made it known to his comrades in the world of economics through his particularly intense activity of diffusion For THE account of left Nazi.

How ridiculous seem in the face of all these elements the balancing acts of Turner, who tries to twist THE neck has This Who are For him of the "legends » on the support of the monopolists has the ascent of NSDAP. He writes notably has about of Kirdorf: " At the end of our analysis (!), it emerges that the importance of Kirdorf in the ascent of Hitler born tinted not mostly (!) has her particular quality of industrialist. In short, and this is a fact important, he was a of these personalities important and haloed which contributed to making the future dictator decent to eyes of million of Germans At thread of his rise 90. What handling without scruples. To get *millionaires* out of reasoning which allowed All First of all the ascent of Hitler, we grows has the foreground THE "million of Germans » Who born se left not

" enlist » by THE Nazis, by Kirdorf or by some other personality "important", neither has this era nor even in the elections of 1928!

Of even, THE attempts of TO DO pass THE course of Kirdorf for an isolated case do not stand up to the test of facts. In effect, THE reconciliation of Kirdorf with THE **NSDAP**

is not one symptom particularly obvious of a societal process, namely the efforts made from the years 1927-1928 by the most reactionary elements of monopolistic capital to once again mobilize their forces with a view to the assault on the Weimar Republic. He enough of se remind a times Again there Genesis And suites _ of this famous encounter between Kirdorf And Hitler to see it. After Hitler had already made three successful performances in front of industrialists in the Ruhr, circles of the Munich landed bourgeoisie, who had already long been committed to the cause of the movement Nazi, took the initiative of consolidate And to register in there duration THE relationships between THE NSDAP And Ruhr industry. They addressed the vanguard of the monopolists And of the Junkers extreme RIGHT, THE Berlin National Club. Her president born laughs not of these "provincial" and of their requirements, but was At opposite such in agreement with their project that when he mentioned the name of Kirdorf, This born was not in so much that man Who supported in her alone name THE NSDAP, but in so much that the man who could be like no other useful to Hitler in the world of industry".

Once again, what Hitler said to Kirdorf was not likely to affect Kirdorf alone personally, but corresponded so much to the ideas of his industrial friends that Kirdorf was certain that they would approve of Hitler's statements. He was thus himself responsible for printing and distributing Hitler's speech.

Hitler adapted his statements to Kirdorf's personality when he attacked not only the "optimists _ » Who were talking of a sanitation of the economy, but also has those Who "saw All in black » And to

"pessimists without THE lesser hope". Kirdorf did in

indeed part of the latter since 1918. Admirer of Bismarck, he had not forgiven William II for having dismissed him and, like most Pan-Germanists, he had followed the emperor's policy with distrust and increasing discomfort. The collapse of the Empire meant for Kirdorf, then aged 71, a temporary personal bankruptcy. Kirdorf responded on July 23, 1919 to Heinrich Class's constant invitations to continue has collaborate with him At breast of there direction of the Pan-German Union by a letter of refusal full of a deep bitterness Who was, as he the writing himself, reinforced by an operation on the intestines. " I don't know, Kirdorf wrote to Class, whether I should admire or regret that you wanted continue of YOU beat, because I am convinced that you will still suffer the worst disappointments, which I have overcome. That's why I'm leaving now my life lie in front Me without THE slightest hope, I hope not for too long." The reason of This despair, THE fiasco of imperialism German _ And there fear of see arrive there END of her own industrial empire, as well as the fear of the Revolution and of German workers, appears clearly in the complaint of Kirdorf At subject of there Gelsenkirchener Gesellschaft,

"a of my companies Who se will find maybe Again this year At edge of there bankruptcy [...] And if We let's reach has save _ NOW our works industrial of there ruin, will they not be not taken from their owners? I already fear that this winter we will plunge into total anarchy, that se produce A collapse final, because there terrible _ shortage of coal go TO DO die THE people of hungry and of cold. SO, there beast German, THE people, will show the full extent of his depravity 91."

There loss momentary of All hope that German imperialism can rise again and find "his grandur past" had a sort of ideological basis for Kirdorf . He shared with Ludendorff the view that responsibility for the decline and collapse of German imperialism was "the reigning absence of Germanness » (*Undeutschtum*) 92 . For him, this *Undeutschtum* was not not incarnated that by THE Jews, but Also by THE center _ Catholic, And has fortiori by there Christendom. 93 He was of those Who, in private, were pushing there thought "national » (völkisch) to the extreme, in a return to Germanic mythological beliefs, which is why Hallgarten calls it THE " old Teuton bearded » Or Again THE " Wotan of German heavy industry 94".

THE pessimism of Kirdorf was known of many people, of which Hitler, And This last se served SO of all his eloquence to prove that this desperate pessimism did not have none reason to be. There "demonstration" was Also rude that we can se imagine it, For born not to say stupid, but carried out with enormous emphasis, a vigorous call for the resurgence of the Prussian spirit and a strong trust in there victory. He no had of reason of to despair that if he missing At people German there racial value. And this value, although threatened, had not yet disappeared. It was only necessary to review it from top to bottom education And art of to drive THE people in order to of

"help him has find her value, also in so much thattat ⁹⁵". The obligation supreme was SO " of not to capitulate to the manifestations of decline, but to face them with heroism. We must not let ourselves be defeated but GOOD raise there head And to squeeze THE teeth For proclaim this supreme and living conviction that everything that has been created by men in this world can be destroyed by of the men And that he no has not a artwork of the Evil One that a sacred will cannot break. This is my belief ^{96.}"

Kirdorf fit to print And propagate THE declarations of Hitler, This Who prove that Hitler know better that class, at least temporarily, wake at the house of THE old Kirdorf hopes for an overthrow of the Republic and the eradication of the workers' movement. Eight years later, in 1935, the 88-year-old wrote with hindsight: "At a certain time, we may have lost faith in the internal unity of the homeland, we had almost lost hope of winning in Germany the Hödhr blind of there division. This man (Hitler) y East reached [...] Today, I am optimistic 97. " He was optimistic again because the " internal unit » had been restored - through concentration camps and SS terror - and that rearmament was following its course, full of promise.

By elsewhere, there brochure broadcast by Kirdorf contained all the stereotypes that we have come to know and which are leitmotifs of Hitler's speech: it develops the thesis " of the two camps Who oppose in mortal enemies ", he assures that National Socialism will exterminate Marxism; he announces that " saving space" to answer has there growth of there population will be THE aim of his policy; he expresses his contempt for the masses and explains that there democracy East there domination of there weakness And of the stupidity; he declared there war has there Republic of Weimar (the NSDAP is not " not a defensive organization for the protection of the current state, but a combat organization destiny has to provoke her fall 98 "); he ensures furthermore that National Socialism will protect the existing economy (" The movement [...] considers an independent national economy as a necessity, [...] only one State nationalist strong can to guarantee has a such economy a protection And a freedom action And of development _ 99. "); he promises "the integration complete of there " fourth class" In there community 100 ".

It was there a definition of "socialism » national which absolutely did not make entrepreneurs fear that THE Nazis apply A true socialism (" The National Socialist movement [...] constructs a new term has leave of two terms of which the interpretation was until then equivocal And in opposition: "nationalism" and "socialism". He notes in fact that the noblest socialism corresponds has love THE more noble of people and the homeland and that both depict the responsible execution of one and the same national duty 101. ") Moreover, Hitler promises of prepare a new war (" THE movement _ national socialist born expects not has This that we can regulate there question of the future of there nation German by means of a decision taken by majority [...] The organization of strengths of defense of a people [...] East always in close connection with learning the value of personality, of there struggle And of love of there homeland 102.")

Kirdorf was SO convinced that his friends industrial would also agree with all these points. Once the brochure printed, he THE invited at the house of him, At Streithof, to get the opportunity to hear Hitler in person. This presentation of Hitler in front a small circle of 14 "patterns » from the Ruhr had place THE 26 october 1927 And was For Hitler A huge success. 103 A little after, THE 5 December 1927, Hitler over there again in front of a chosen audience, in a larger setting than before. The Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung reports has This about : " He y has two years, THE first presentation (of Hitler) in a back room had gathered as many forty people, but yesterday, Monday, For a presentation in front of a selected audience, the Krupp room was packed. There were more or less six hundred of them, coming from Essen, Bochum, Gelsenkirchen, Duisburg and the entire industrial region. 104. "Kirdorf's entry into the Nazi Party and the distribution of Hitler's pamphlet which he had undertaken

taken had very clearly had an important effect. This rapid increase in the interest of the Ruhr magnates in Hitler and his party far exceeded the rapid increase in the number of votes won by the NSDAP during of the years Who followed.

THE newspaper over there with approval of content of speech of Hitler in front this assembly massive industrialists And explained that Hitler born is silent " Never discarded principles _ fundamentals of his thoughts ". "One thought remains center of his considerations: he said that he must se fight for that THE people German find there power of a State and is based for this on the theses of the rejection of internationalism and the return to a healthy and sacred national egoism, of the rejection of the domination of the masses through the democratic election of leaders and the return to a true leader chosen for pure personal value. From year to year, these theses are deepened from an ideological point of view and from year to year, they are presented below of news shapes And assorted of new arguments 105."

Rudolph Hess, has the time "secretary" of Hitler as he designated himself, presented the results of the speeches of point of view of the Nazis In two letters addressed has Walter Hewel, Who participated At putsch of Hitler the 9th november 1923 In THE ranks of Bund Oberland.

In there first letter, dated of 30 March 1927, Hess does there description next: "YOU will be Above all interested to learn that he (Hitler) has speak three times At course of last year in front of a selected audience of industrialists from the region Rhine-Westphalia, two times has Essen, a times in Königswinter. Each time he achieved similar success. has the one that he had known in her time has the Atlantic Hotel in Hamburg. He had for each speech in front of him A audience relatively homogeneous And has SO could keep

a continuous line. As in Hamburg, here too, the atmosphere was initially quite cold and unfavorable, some of the people sitting facing the tribune of the people with on THE face A smile mocker. I pus observing with great joy the progressive change in attitude of these gentlemen, although they struggled internally. At the end, they applauded as they rarely applaud. This had a direct effect: during the second meeting of industrialists in Essen, around five hundred people had already responded to the invitation. On April 27, Hitler will speak probably a third time in Essen; it is planned to also invite ladies who, once won over, often turn out to be more important than men. We should also not underestimate the influence they exert on their husbands. 106."

In a second letter has Hewel dating of 8 decbre 1928, Hess returns to these events: "Each time, among others in Essen, he (Hitler) spoke before a select circle of economists, scientists, [...] in the style that suited them. Each time we had to organize the gatherings in larger rooms. At the end, the elite of the economy took part, for example Kirdorf ¹⁰⁷. He always met with total approval and applause such as we are not used to hearing in these circles. ¹⁰⁸."

Even if we naturally consider that Hitler's presentations did not make all the monopolists and all the entrepreneurs who listened to him friends and promoters of left Nazi, we can All of even to pull a conclusion, if only by observing the organization during the years 1926-1927 of five events of this type to which attended an ever-growing audience: at the end of the year 1927, just two years After her refoundation, THE NSDAP had do his more important conquests No not among

THE masses, but GOOD among THE entrepreneurs of there Ruhr. It is A do historical that born will be able to to erase all the revisionists. And it is obvious that such conquests have had of the repercussions below there shape help financial _ even if We we don't have not preserved THE invoices. 109 All this born means nevertheless not that Kirdorf And others _ patrons of NSDAP among THE tycoons of there Ruhr saw in the NSDAP the future ruling party and in Hitler THE future dictator. THE role that they had assigned to Hitler In their guesses was a lot more modest: they saw in him above all the demagogue capable of acting on the masses, the agitator. The NSDAP could and should according to their plans - play by report has there RIGHT conservative THE role that played THE SPD by report At center: the role of coalition partner that would anchor the domination bourgeois until In there class of the workers And him to guarantee a base Also wide that possible in THE masses without that he does not have a alone times summer question of establishing a dictatorship - at least in Germany. In what concerned Kirdorf, he dut see by elsewhere In his membership At NSDAP A AVERAGE of pressure For to abandon At DNVP there line of Westarp, according to him pernicious, And THE to bring back on THE "right" path of which THE guarantor seemed to him to be, after the death of Helfferisch, his Pan-German friend And companion of struggle, Alfred Hugenberg. When Hugenberg reached in october 1928 has take the head of the DNVP - the strong pressure exerted by Kirdorf and the coal industry on the management of the DNVP was not there certainly not For nothing 110-Kirdorf left in

All case THE NSDAP For return At DNVP.

This step in no way marked a break with the NSDAP because Kirdorf did not make much noise around her new change of left And left still a long time believe At big audience that he was always

member of NSDAP. So, THE Völkischer Beobachter put reproduce on August 27, 1929 a letter of thanks from Kirdorf has Hitler For her invitation At Congress of party, which gave great publicity to the NSDAP: " Anyone who has had THE pleasure of participate has this meeting born can, even if he considers certain points of your party's program with mistrust Or a farm disapproval, that recognize the importance of your movement For sanitation of OUR country And him to wish a lot of success 111." Kirdorf concludes her letter Thus: "We YOU let's do my women And myself _ A Hi German, my friendships, your devoted Kirdorf." GOOD that the organ central of KPD, THE "Flag red" (Die rote Fahne) published extracts from this letter on August 28, 1929 under the title "Kirdorf the capitalist and Hitler. A link of friendship unwavering 112, Kirdorf born judged not necessary of TO DO know publicly that he was not no longer a member of the NSDAP for a year already. When at the strongest of there campaign For THE elections federal of 1930, the press Communist published has new of the items on the support brought by Kirdorf And there Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks- AG At NSDAP, he was however Ultimately constrained to declare publicly In THE Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger from Hugenberg that he had joined the NSDAP in 1927 "at a time when the German National People's Party (DNVP) was according to Me false road below the impulse of there direction of the time", but that now "he would faithfully support THE Left popular national German as long as that he would have a direction conscious of the goals to achieve, as is that of Mr. Hugenberg". He added that he supported exclusively This left. 113 There last sentence was not even false since the aids of Kirdorf At NSDAP were in transit by Hugenberg. 114 From that Hugenberg had taken there direction of DNVP, Kirdorf put all her energy has create a alliance

solid between the German nationals and the Nazi party, and between Hugenberg And Hitler naturally, seen THE role director plays by Hugenberg At breast of DNVP. At course in the following years, when such an alliance seemed ripe, Kirdorf swept her vision pessimistic of future And adopted a optimism full of hopes. But when THE NSDAP stopped tolerating the Papen government and began to fight it in 1932, Kirdorf dived has new In A abysmal pessimism, of which his 1933 New Year wishes were still impregnated. 115

Besides industry mining, industry of iron And of steel also forged links with the NSDAP from 1926, as we we learn from the diary of Joseph Goebbels. 116 Goebbels was has the time director of Gau of NSDAP of Rhineland North, to sides of Gauleiter Carl Kaufmann. We find in her newspaper of the notes Who specify that he has very often _ encounter A "director Arnold » Who supported financially the NSDAP. We can thus read on the date of January 13 1926: "Fixes of the ABC. 117 There second edition appears. 11-20000. A large quantity. Tomorrow I will has Hattingen seek of money. THE director Arnold will advance the money for the printing 118." March 21, 1926: "Tomorrow, We let's go receive of money. 1 500 marks of Arnold. I have to For that me give back has Hattingen 119." March 27: "This afternoon I was in Hattingen again [...] A. gave me 800 marks 120. heiber»

As THE Assumed Heiber,* THE director Arnold Quoted by Goebbels was Robert Carl Arnhold, director of

According to Turner (Turner, Henry HAS., Die Grossunternehmer and the rise of Hitler, Berlin (West) 1985, p. 111, 450, Rem. 7), there assumption of Heiber East erroneous. The Arnold quoted by Goebbels would be instead A frame of the Heinrichshütte alive has Hattingen Who would have lost her job has responsibilities In THE frame of there reprise of the Heinrichshütte by The union of the steelworks. There version of Turner would tend has be confirmed by the fact that the Arnold, director of the Dinta, cited by Heiber did not live not has Hattingen but has Dusseldorf. However, THE role plays by This last explain how Heiber in East arrived has this assumption.

the German Technical Institute for Work Training (Dinta), living in Hattingen. 121 Richard Lewinsohn informs us on this man And on her institute: "He y has a thing that art of there propaganda of Hugenberg is not not reached has TO DO: he n / A not knew bring the masses of workers to the right, alongside the parties of entrepreneurs . To compensate for this lack, heavy industry set up and financed a second propaganda organization Who addresses directly At worker, must take charge of it intellectually, train it and transform it according to the employer's wishes. This organization bears the mysterious name of Dinta. One of its founders is Oswald Spengler, one of its most dynamic promoters in the world of industry is the general director Vögler, of the Steelworks Union, but its organizer of facto is a former officer, engineer CR Arnhold, of the Gelsenkirchener Bergwergsgesellschaft 122. " Seen THE goals of there Dinta, he was almost inevitable that her director is interested has A left of which THE aim was also of to bring back THE masses of workers towards there

"RIGHT" And of THE form Or transform "according to THE desires of employers", And that he support THE efforts of This left. 123 THE newspaper social democrat, THE Vorwärts, described la Dinta and its director in these words: "ahighly socially reactionary "research institute" that costs big German entrepreneurs a lot of money. Its main mission is to work on dismantling of the union spirit and the establishment of always highly differentiated factory personnel. "HAS there head of there Dinta se found THE advise private Arnhold, whose THE Vorwärts quotes there statement next: "In definitively, personnel education in our industry must replace there old generation. THE worker must learn _ that In THE process of production, we must more Don-

camouflaged behind of the "loans".

Another Nazi entrepreneur mentioned by Goebbels is Paul Hoffmann, owner of a factory of rubber and asbestos goods in Essen. 128

THE capital attention And of kindness that Hitler and the NSDAP were formed among the magnates of the Ruhr would certainly be of capital importance for the evolution posterior of the NSDAP, but this "workers' party" also maintained relations "useful" with others circles of entrepreneurs. THE circle of the first promoters of NSDAP knew, has leave of a small circle then a medium circle of entrepreneurs, an enlargement constant of the 1926-1927 grace has the arrival of new people, some of whom will occupy important positions in the future. Their number is certainly much greater than that officially reported because many preferred during those years to secretly support the NSDAP without joining it. An organization was even created For of such sympathizers, Who

was called In there Ruhr THE *German Freiheitsbund* And which, according to police reports, mainly brought together tradespeople And of the manufacturers. ¹²⁹

In 1927, Albert Pietzsch joined the NSDAP, which he had already supported since 1923. ¹³⁰ He was part of the circle of acquaintances of Rudolf Hess, the Führer's representative, who made him his economic advisor in autumn 1933. With Pietzsch, It is A entrepreneur of sector electro-chemical of capital monopolistic German Who entered the NSDAP, A sector with which THE left also maintained of the relationships Since 1922, notably by through the director of Siemens Burhenne ¹³¹. These links were, however, less striking and above all less known than those that the party maintained with the world of heavy industry. Pietzsch, engineer, was director of the factories electrochemical of Munich. He do part of those who made a dazzling career after 1933 due to their quality of "old fighter".

However, there mostly of the monopolists And of the Junkers who maintained relations with the NSDAP before 1933 and him brought a certain help granted generally place great importance on the secrecy of these relationships. We could establish a long list of big industrialists, bankers and Junkers who until 1933 were thought to be enemies of the Nazis or, in any case, who were not knew not that they had supported THE Nazis. He had to wait until 1945 and the Nuremberg trials or even the discovery more late of some document For to know there truth. That concerned almost all THE members of "Keppler circle" and almost all the signatories of the sadly famous request has Hindenburg of november 1932, but also

famous request has Hindenburg of november 1932, but also other industrialists like Paul Silverberg and Otto Wolff, that there literature bourgeois present still today as enemies of Hitler.

It was necessary to keep all this secret, if only so as not to make the Nazi Party appear too clearly as being by nature A left of capital monopolistic. A other reason For keep THE secret was to avoid hassles with other parties that received similar support. But above all, it was a question of not revealing At rival his clean plans In THE fight of wild _ that se delivered THE groups monopolistic.

However, it is in vain to look for names of direct representatives of the most powerful German monopolistic company, IG-Farben, among the members of "circle Keppler » or among the signatories of the request to Hindenburg. Is it because, as Richard thinks Sasuly, THE trust chemical born " its not rushed to support the Nazis 132 » (Sasuly dates the start of this support to 1931 at the earliest) or is it because IG-Farben knew how to hide its relations with the NSDAP even better than the others?

A exam more in-depth confirmed there second assumption. Concealing his relations with the NSDAP was even more necessary For THE band IG-Farben that For all other monopolistic companies. The group had in fact succeeded better than any other in acquiring influence decisive on THE governments And the state apparatus of there Republic of Weimar. 133 He has SO day before to save her "picture » of loyalty towards there Weimar Republic and its constitution. He achieved this mainly thanks to "newspaper House", THE Frankfurter Zeitung, Who had no without reason there reputation to be THE daily most serious bourgeois German and who until afterward displayed THE 30 January 1933 a line policy liberal And criticism of the Nazis. It was also the attitude most beneficial to the firm's international economic and commercial relations.

98 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

But there line represented In THE Frankfurter Zeitung was not in none case there alone line present At breast from IG-Farben. In accordance At principle of base of the man the more in view has the time, THE president of her advice of directors Carl Duisberg (also president of the Union national of industry German Since 1925), it was necessary to be present in all parties to have influence and be able to exert pressure everywhere 135. IG-Farben has Thus knew talk of several voice, moon between them being conservative And profascist. THE relay of this voice was there "Review European » (European Review), of which we let's talk more in detail by there following. THE role that will play more late IG-Farben In Germany fascist We allows you to deduct that there true voice from IG-Farben did not emanate of Frankfurter Zeitung but GOOD of the European Review.

If we look for of the connections between industry chemical and the NSDAP, we must naturally first think has Gregor Strasser. No not uniquely because that he was a pharmacist and that pharmacists were for Kurt Tucholsky THE "priests of village of IG-Farben 136", but good more because that after her defeat At duel Who opposed him to Goering And her eviction of there direction of left, he became director of band Schering. 137 And Above all because that line policy that he represented had a lot of points in common with that of the chemical industry in general, and more particularly with that privileged by IG-Farben. Furthermore, his brother Otto Strasser also gravitated towards THE lap of industry chemical, Or he found THE capital of departure For there foundation of *Kampfverlag*, Who was during _ a few years a armed policy important and assured in even time a position of weight For THE brothers Strasser At breast of left Nazi

Robert Ley East A other link Who unit THE left Nazi has IG-Farben. Art And there manner by which This link was established

camouflage tactics practiced by IG-Farben.

Ley, chemist In THE domain eating, worked since 1921 In a factory chemical Who will do more later part of the IG-Farben group in Leverkusen. In 1924, he joined THE "Movement national socialist For there freedom» (National socialist Freiheitsbewegung) of Cologne. After the re-foundation of the NSDAP, he was appointed in 1925, with the agreement of Hitler, Gauleiter of Rhineland of South. 138 Despite this public service as a Nazi leader, he retained her job at the house of IG-Farben. This is not that when Ley presented himself as an NSDAP candidate in the regional elections of Prussia THE 20 may 1928 that her CONTRACT work took END. At breast of left, we told that he had been fired "in reason of her activity policy 139", This which corresponded has there reality because he was in effect difficult to reconcile for IG-Farben to protect its "picture » and use has A job has responsibilities A deputy regional office of the NSDAP. He was therefore fired but, according to the testimony of a former Nazi 140, IG-Farben signed him a contract stipulating that he would touch Again during three years a monthly salary of 850 marks to which would be added each semester an additional bonus of 1800 has 2000 marks. This arrangement explain from where comes in part money of there publication of a newspaper staff_broadcast has the scale of Gau, THE West German Beobachter. 141 In 1927, another man from the chemical sector entered the NSDAP: Wilhelm Keppler, that we will know more late as Hitler's infamous economic advisor and founder of the circle of friends ". 142 Before the First World War, Wilhelm Keppler was a team leader In a factory chemical belonging has parents and of which he took charge in 1919. 143 In 1922, he founded with there firm American Eastman Kodak a factory For there manufacturing of photogelatin, THE factories chemical Odin GmbH in Eberbach-sur-Neckar. 144 The Eastman Kodak had 50 % of shares in the company, Keppler and those close to it 25 % each. Through commercial transactions, the details and real importance of which we are still unaware of, Keppler came into close contact with Ley and the Cologne banker Kurt von Schröder. The source for the description of these events is an internal party assessment of Keppler, which was probably written by Ley himself. 145 According to this document, Keppler would have experienced difficulties within these two companies due to his National Socialist opinions, reason For which he would have tent of THE acquire. He was in this Steps openly recommended by Ley, who put him in contact with Schröder for financing the transaction. Keppler, however, was unable to achieve its goal, mainly due to resistance from the main shareholder, the Kodak company. 146 We can only speculate about what actually happened.

Here is the hypothesis there more likely: A of the competitors of Kodak would have wanted, with the help of Keppler, to absorb the factories Odin, of which there production main occupied a key position which thus took them out of Kodak's sphere of influence. Among the companies that such a transaction would have could to interest, we find Also GOOD Schering -Kahlbaum AG, which had already absorbed Voigtländer-AG, and the IG-Farben group, one of whose founders was Agfa. The active involvement of the Stein bank of Cologne by the intermediary of her partner Kurt Von Schröder noted that it was instead IG-Farben, and not the Schering-Kahlbaum, which hid behind Keppler's efforts. Indeed, Kurt von Schröder was the son-in- law of Richard von Schnitzler, Who was has her round member of advice administration of IG-Farben And partner

As THE watch notably the evaluation internally, close relationships accompanied by significant support continued to link the small entrepreneur Keppler and the banker, of the relationships Who born could obviously based on a principle of equality.

Schröder's evaluation also shows us that Ley And Keppler were deeply impressed by

"the involvement active and national socialist beliefs of Schröder » when they THE frequented more assiduously. 148 By Schröder's own admission, the beginning of his relationship with Keppler went back Already has 1928 Or 1929. 149 We therefore have in the person of Schröder a sympathizer of NSDAP of there first hour from of financial capital and IG-Farben. It is obvious that following the negotiations around the Odin factories, Keppler became the main intermediary between Schröder and the NSDAP. Grace has her promotion At rank of advise financial of Hitler, the Schröder-Keppler couple guarantees IG-Farben a connection direct And him donna there possibility to influence Hitler, contacts Who were especially more effective than a second connection via Hitler's representative, Hess, came THE to strenghten.

It is Heinrich Gattineau Who was has there base of this second connection. He joined IG-Farben in 1928 at the Bayer factories in Leverkusen, where he quickly rose through the ranks to occupy a management position. Duisberg quickly made this young man

102 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

handy THE chief of her secretariat And him confided by there following the direction of there section central For THE questions economical _ of the Bayer factories. 150 In 1931, Carl Bosch, the director of IG-Farben who remained $^{\text{behind}}$ $^{\text{the}}$ scenes the most – This Who THE made especially more powerful - THE fit come to Berlin to work in the group's press service. Gattineau y was responsible of there "foreign policy » of IG-Farben and was in fact responsible for maintaining the company's relations with the various parties and groups. By this choice, Bosch showed that he had a very clear idea of the direction that were to take THE relationships of IG-Farben. In effect, Gattineau knew And was personally in relation to certain Nazi leaders. After the First War worldwide, he had belonged At Bund Oberland, one of the predecessors of the fascist SA which took part in Hitler's putsch. At that time he had personally known Ernst Röhm And THE general von Epp. He had between others studied has Munich with THE teacher Haushofer, a friend of Rudolph Hess, Who was For him " as a father ". Gattineau also knew Hess personally. He was there person ideal For establish without attract attention of the contacts discreet between THE group and THE left Nazi.

IG- Farben had A other support At breast of left Nazi in the person of the chemical engineer Werner Daitz, from Lübeck, a man who had tried his hand at many disciplines. Not only had he been, already before the First War worldwide, THE director of different companies, but during the war he had also invented ersatz products, for example an ersatz rubber ¹⁵¹ And also wrote since 1909 " philosophical and political publications on the advent of a new vision of world ¹⁵²". It is on these writings that he based his requirement to be recognized as mon of the pioneers of

national socialism. This requirement was supported energetically after 1933 by IG-Farben, who republished and distributed his writings. 153 In A of his writings of the year 1916, he developed ideas which present great similarities with THE ideas stated has little close has there even era by Walter Rathenau And Who gave has little close this:

" A new kind of socialism state go see THE day. It will be totally different from anything that any of us has could dream Or imagine. He born will paralyze, In the economic domain, neither private initiative nor capitalism private, but THE will organize in function of his interests. THE capital will be concentrate In the economy popular and directed entirely towards the outside [...] This transformation of capitalism [...] will give birth to a socialism national. 154 » After the founding of IG-Farben AG, Daitz became director business of IG. He entered At NSDAP good Before 1933: in 1931, he became member of there national leadership of the NSDAP in the Foreign Policy Office by Alfred Rosenberg.

IG-Farben se created of the supports At breast of NSDAP in there person of Ley, Keppler, Daitz And certainly still others because the company already saw in him a party has Who we could A day entrust exercise of power. But THE men of kingdom of there chemistry were accustomed has experiment all THE elements And has test their malleability. They had also acquired the experience that even THE materials apparently THE more harmless and the most useless could under certain conditions and in reaction with other elements possess properties unexpected And astonishing. So Why, in the policy Also, they had For principle of born not abandon elements that are barely known and untested in the take advantage of known and proven elements the big parties represented At Reichstag And At government- And

104 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

to check their malleability, especially if it was a party whose political slogans were largely in agreement with Duisberg's conviction, namely that Germany had need of a man strong Who would know act without respect For the mood of the masses And Finally gather _ all THE Germans below her cut.

Furthermore, it was necessary to counterbalance within the party the interest perennial that wore At NSDAP the opponent of the GI in matter of policy economic: industry mining of the Ruhr.

IG-Farben had, however, succeeded: by 1927-1928 its influence on the Nazi Party was already barely weaker than that of heavy industry and its connections with the party were even more numerous, although less obvious. They were in fact more within the domain of there "conspiracy".

- die bürgerlichen Parteien in Germany. Handbuch der Geschichte der Bürgerlichen Parteien and other buürgerlicher Interessenorganizationen vom Vormärz bis zum Jahre 1945, flight. II, Leipzig 1970, p. 397; Tyrell, Albrecht, Fuhrer befiehl... Selbstzeugnisse aus der "Kampfzeit" der NSDAP. Documentation and Analysis , Düsseldorf 1969, p. 95; Hüttenberger, To fart, die Gauleiter. Studio zum Wandel des Machtgefüges in der NSDAP, Stuttgart 1969, p. 10
- About national clubs (Nationalklubs), see Handbuch der bürgerlichen Parteien , flight. II, pp. 341 And sq. Hitler had Already could se to present in front THE Berliner Nationalklub in May 1922.
- 3. Tyrell, p. 107
- Adolf Hitler in Hamburg , Hamburg 1939, p. 8
- Stegmann, Dirk, V on Verhältnis von Grossindustrie und Nationalsozialismus 1930-1933. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der sog. Machtergreifung , in: Archiv für Sozialgeschichte, edited by there Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, flight. XIII, 1973, p. 411
- Jochmann, Werner, Im Kampf um die Macht. Hitlers Rede vor dem Hamburger National Club von 1919, Frankfurt am Main 1960, p. 33.
- Ibidem , p. 32 7
- Ibidem, p. 69
- There transcription of her speech do more of fifty pages typed.
- 10. Jochmann, pp.67 And sq.
- 11. Tyrell, pp. 47 And sq. (Also completely taken back In : Gossweiler, Kurt, Kapital, Reichswehr and NSDAP 1919 - 1924, Berlin 1982, pp. 560 and sq.)
- 12. Jochmann, pp. 95 And sq.
- 13. *Ibidem* , p. 82
- 14. Ibidem, p. 92, 94
- 15. Ibidem, p. 98
- 16. Ibidem, p. 101
- 17. Ibidem, p. 102 18. Ibidem, p. 103
- 19. Ibidem , p. 104
- 20. At the house of Jochmann : Instructions (Wrong)
- 21. Ibidem, pp. 104 And sq.
- 22. Ibidem, p. 106
- 23. Ibidem , p. 116
- 24. Ibidem , p. 114
- 25. Ibidem, p. 121
- 26. Ibidem , p. 61

Turner, Henry Ashby, Faschismus and Kapitalismus in Germany, Student zum Verhältnis zwischen Nationalsozialismus und Wirtschaft, Göttingen 1972, p. 69

- 27. ZstAP, Alldeutscher Verband (ADV), no. 121, f. 44
- 28. Jochmann, pp. 109 And sq.
- 29. Hüttenberger, p. 12
- 30. Ibidem p. 15; See as well: Pridham, Geoffrey, Hitlers Rise to Power. Tea Nazi Movement in Bavaria, 1923-1933, London 1973, pp. 45 And sq.
- 31. Hüttenberger, p. 11
- 33. Ibidem, p. 10
- 34. Ibidem, p. 9; Tyrell, p. 78
- 35. ZstAP, ADV, no. 228, f. 42; ibidem, Reichskommissar für Überwachung der öffentlichen Ordnung (RKO) , n° 287

106 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

- 36. Hüttenberger, p. 20
- Tyrell, p. 104; Hüttenberger, p. 15; Böhnke, Wilfried, die NSDAP im Ruhrgebiet 1920-1933, Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1974, p. 95
- THE Gauss of Rhineland of North And THE Gau of Westphalia with THE Gauleiters Axel Ripke And –has leave of september 1925 – Carl Kaufmann, Who seat has Elberfeld, And Franz Pfeffer von Solomon, Who seat has Münster (see Böhnke, p. 101)
- 39. Ibidem, p. 106
- ZstAP, Reichsjustizministerium (RjuM), no. 5053/29, f. 20, Deutsche Zeitung, no. 470. October 19, 1924.
- 41. Böhnke, pp. 32 And sq.
- 42. Weber, Hellmuth, Ludendorff and die Monopoly, Berlin 1966
- 43. Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung (RWZ), 28.7.1935, in: ZstAP, ADV, no.211/1, f. 84.
- Pabst, Klaus, Der Ruhrkampf, in: Walter Först (Ed.), Zwischen Ruhrkampf und Wiederaufbau, Cologne – Berlin (West) 1972, pp. 24 And sq.
- Hortzschansky, Günter, Der nationale Verrat der deutschen Monopolherren während of the Ruhrkampfes 1923, Berlin 1961, pp. 106 And sq.; Rabenau, Friedrich von, Seeckt. Aus seinem Leben 1918-1936, Leipzig 1940, p. 324.
- See THE biographies summarized of the Gauleiters Nazis In: Hüttenberger, S., pp. 213 And sq.
- 47. Böhnke, p. 54
- 48. For a explanation in detail of This putsch lack, see: Ruge, Wolfgang, Hindenburg, Portrait eins Militarists, Berlin 1974, pp. 287 And sq.
- 49. FZ, 13.5.1926 And THE days following
- Egelhaafs Historisch-politische Jahresübersicht für 1926, edited by Hermann Haug, Stuttgart 1927, pp. 120 And sq. – Turner takes surprisingly left For THE anti-Republican conspirators (Turner, pp. 65 et seq.)
- 51. Handbuch der bürgerlichen Partien, flight. I, Leipzig 1968, pp. 736 And sq.
- Horkenbach, Cuno (Ed.), Das German Reich von 1918 bis Heute, Berlin 1930, pp. 234 And sq.
- 53. Ibidem , p. 236; See as well: Egelhaaf, 1927, pp. 112 et seq. He is accused At DNVP having bought her entrance At government in denying all the most essential points of the party's baseline.
- 54. Bavaria was the first state to issue a speech ban against Hitler, a ban which was lifted on March 5, 1927; Prussia decreed a ban on speech on 25.9.1925 which was lifted on 29.9.1928 by the government of Social Democratic Minister-President Otto Braun. Such Bans were issued in all states except Brunswick, of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, of Thuringia And of Württemberg, (Tyrell, pp. 107 And sq.)
- 55. Böhnke, pp. 104 and sq.
- 56. Ibidem, pp. III And sq.
- 57. Adolf Hitler und seine Bewegung im Lichte neutraler Beobachter und objektiver Gegner, 2 nd editing, Munich 1928, p. 39 (all THE reports of press following on THE assemblies Hitler In there Ruhr are cited according to this review Nazi, if nothing else is indicated.)
- 58. The editor of the RWZ was Theodor Reismann-Grone, formerly a leading Pan-Germanist. rank, ousted of there direction of The union has there following of a dispute staff with Class. (For in know more on R.-G., see Also: Hallgarten, George W. F., Hitler, Reichswehr and Industry. Zur Geschichte der Jahre 1918-1933, 2nd editing,
 - Frankfurt am Main, 1955, p.96; Heiden, Konrad, *Hitler* , Zurich 1936, pp. 259 And sq.)

- 59. Adolf Hitler and Seine Bewegung, pp. 11 And sq.
- 60. Ibidem
- 61. Ibidem, p. 13
- 62. Ibidem, p. 39
- 63. This was maybe Also At course of a of the others assemblies of the year 1926; Kirdorf himself born se remembered more very GOOD (see: RWZ of 28.7.1935).

In fact, it matters little whether Kirdorf heard Hitler for the first time in June, September or December 1926; what is by counter decisive is his reaction to this speech.

- 64. RWZ of 28.7.1935
- 65. Handbuch der German Aktiengesellschaft, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932/IV, p. 5403, 5406, 5410, 5412,
- 66. Turner, pp. 16 And sq., 60-86, go. pp. 79 And sq.
- 67. Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger of 28.10.1936.
- 68. Stegmann, p. 417
- 69. Handbuch der Aktiengesellschaften, p. 5408
- 70. Ibidem
- 71. Ibidem
- 72. Ibidem, p. 5413
- 73. RWZ of 28.7.1935
- 74. Fetscher, Iring, Fascismus and Nationalsozialismus. Zur Kritik of the sowjetmarxistischen Faschismusbegriffes, in: Politische Vierteljahresschrift, 1/1962, p.
- 75. Adolf Hitler and Seine Bewegung, p. 14
- 76. *Ibidem*, pp. 15 and sq.
- 77. Ibidem, pp. 13 And sq.
- 78. THE newspaper belonged also has Reismann- Grone
- 79. Adolf Hitler and Seine Bewegung, p. 19
- 80. Ibidem
- 81. Ibidem , p. 20
- 82. Ibidem, p. 21. A police report on this assembly again repeats this $\,$ passage from the speech where Hitler explains that, in his opinion, a powerful state cannot be achieved only by overcoming the divide between classes; that we cannot come has end of there fracture between THE classes by of the compromise; that he must for this to fight hard against Marxism "in accordance with the motto which says that victory always lies in the attack. » (Böhnke, p. 112)
- 83. Tyrell, p. 107; Böhnke, p. 113
- 85. Wrong, in do: Prince Carl zu Löwenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg. Others stories designate Reismann Grone And her son-in-law Otto Dietrich as intermediaries of the meeting between Kirdorf and Hitler. (Hallgarten, p. 97)
- 87. Handbuch der bürgerlichen Partien, flight. II, pp. 341 And sq.
- 88. Reichshandbuch der deutschen Gesellschaft. The Handbuch of the People's Books in Wort and picture, second volume. Hans Louis Ferdinand von Loewenstein

Loewenstein, his full name, also became a member of the Society for the Study of Fascism founded in 1931.

- 90. *Ibidem* , p. 86
- 91. ZstAP, ADV, no.211/1, ff. 61 And sq.
- 92. Ibidem
- 93. Kirdorf did not have, that confirmed This Who has summer said more high, that one objection has do to declarations of Hitler: he did not have Never mentioned the Church Catholic And THE

108 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

center, that's why "I drew Hitler's attention to the danger posed by in my opinion the center, a danger at least as great as that of Marxism. » (RWZ, 28.7.1935)

- 94. Hallgarten, p. 97
- 95. Adolf Hitler, Der Weg zum Wiederaufstieg , Munich 1927, reprinted in : Turner, p. 41-59; for this quote, see:p. 54
- 96. Ibidem, pp. 54 And sq.
- 97. RWZ of 28.7.1935
- 98. Turner, p. 58
- 99. Ibidem, p. 56. Of such opinions on THE link between the state And the economy were not of All THE monopoly of Hitler And of the Nazis, We in have there evidence in statement of rival of Hitler during of the days autumn of 1923, THE leader of there Reichsflagge , THE captain has there retirement Adolf Heiss, dating of 7 January 1927 and relating to Hinein in den Staat (" Inside the state), the motto of the Stahlhelm: "I don't understand these people who say "Inside the State", because this 'State' is not a State, it can and must at most be a State with which we

have to put an end to it [...] We constantly say that the economy needs calm! At risk to be unpopular, I opposes me has this design Who conceals behind the word "calm" the letting go, resignation, renunciation and weakness. Behind a people who want to achieve economic growth, we need a power, A State Who has of his clean income And Who enjoys of consideration and a certain prestige in the world. This must also be the goal of the economy. " (ZstAP, RKO, no. 214, f. 222.)

- 100. Turner, p. 57
- 101. Ibidem
- 102. Ibidem, p. 59
- 103. Ibidem, p. 70
- 104. Adolf Hitler and Seine Bewegung , p. 39
- 105. Ibidem
- 106. ZstAP, Fall XI, no. 280, ff. 13 And sq., Doc. 3753- PS.
- 107. Wrong In there original letter .
- 108. ZstAP, Fall XI, no. 280, ff. 35 And sq., Doc. 3753- PS.
- 109. cf. Böhnke, p. 225, passim; Turner dare even put in doubt THE statements by August Heinrichsbauer (who, as an active civil servant in the mining industry of there Ruhr, had to When even better THE know that Turner) when he claims that Kirdorf would have given Hitler during their first meeting 100000 marks. (Turner, p. 82). This excess of zealous apologetic of Turner And others has Already summer denounced by Dirk Stegmann In her work on THE link between there big industry and National Socialism.
- 110. We knows in All case by Fritz Thyssen that he suspended in autumn 1927 the payments he made to the management of the DNVP: Stegmann, Dirk, Kapitalismus und Faschismus in Germany 1929-1934. Thesen and Material zur Restituierung des Primats der Grossindustrie zwischen Weltwirtschaftskrise und beginningnender Rüstungskonjunktur, in: Gesellschaft, Beiträge zur Marx'schen Theory 6, Frankfurt am Main 1976, p. 28
- 111. Stegmann, Zum Verhältnis, p. 414
- 112. die rote Fahne , no. 164, 28.8.1929
- 113. Berliner Local Anzeige r, no. 397, 23.8.1930. There statement of Kirdorf began with these words: "A weekly very has LEFT diffuse of the declarations false and senseless on My commitment And My action policy Thus that on that demon son-in-law, of captain of frigate has there retirement Kruger And of director general,

THE doctor Huber. By elsewhere, he implied also In his declarations unfounded the Gelsenkirchener Bergwerk-Akt. Ges .

- 114. Thyssen, Fritz, I paid Hitler, London 1941: "At course of the year Who preceded the Nazi takeover, large industrial corporations began to provide financial assistance. But they didn't give it directly to Hitler but to Dr Alfred Hugenberg who made available to the NSDAP a fifth of the sums offered. "Turner claims that these subsidies transmitted by the industry to Hitler through Hugenberg are "a legend" spread by pagans (Turner, p. 14). Only here, in his attempt to refute this "legend", he gets entangled in the contradictions". (see p. 107, 14)
- 115. Turner, pp. 75 And sq.
- 116. Heiber, Helmut (Ed.), THE Newspaper of Joseph Goebbels 1925/1926, Stuttgart 2nd edition, 1961
- 117. He is of a review of propaganda Nazi written by Goebbels.
- 118. Heiber, p. 53
- 119. Ibidem , p. 66
- 120. Ibidem, p. 67
- 121. Ibidem, p. 22, Fn. 3
- 122. Lewinsohn (Morus), Richard, Das Geld in der Politik, Berlin 1930, p. 197
- 123. Ibidem
- 124. Vorwärts of 1.8.1932 (Editing of evening)
- 125. Heiber, p. 57, Fn. 3. According to Heiber, there was no trace of it at Hoesch that after 1933.
- 126. Ibidem, p. 57
- 127. Ibidem , p. 133, 136
- 128. Ibidem , p. 65, 67, 96
- 129. Böhnke, p. 147
- 130. Das German Führerlexikon 1934/1935 , Berlin 1934, p. 355; For more of information on Pietzsch, see THE V.B. of 29.6.1934
- 131. Franz-Willing, George, die Hitlerbewegung, Hamburg Berlin (West), 1962, p. 185.
- 132. Sasuly, Richard, IG-Farben, Berlin 1952, p. 87
- 133. Wickel, Helmut, IG-Deutschland, Ein State im State, Berlin 1932
- 135. HAS about of "system Duisberg", see: Lewinsohn, pp. 82 And sq.; Sasuly, pp. 86 And sq.
- 136. Tucholsky, Kurt, Grund nach vorn. Eine Auswahl aus seinen Schriften and Gedichten, ed. by Erich Kästner, Berlin - Hamburg - Stuttgart - Baden-Baden 1948, p. 78
- 137. Addressbook der Director and Aufsichtsräte der Aktiengesellschaft for das Jahr 1933, II, Berlin, p. 1113
- 138. Schildt, Gerhard, die Arbeitsgemeinschaft North West. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der NSDAP 1925/26, Phil. Diss. Friborg 1964, p. 39
- 139. Führerlexikon, p. 278
- 140. He is of the old spokesperson national of NSDAP Who is silent turned towards the opposition to Nazis And Who fit A portrait of Ley In her newspaper of which the Social Demokratische Press service of 12/23/1932 published of the extracts.
- 141. HAS this subject, see : Ulbricht, Walter, Der fascistische deutsche Imperialismus (1933- 1945), Berlin 1952, p. 25 (He is advanced there - although without proof - that Ley would have received 10 000 marks from IG-Farben for the founding of the Westdeutsche Beobachter .)
- 142. THE "circle of friends» (Freundeskreis) was A circle industrialists, of bankers And of big owners land, created At beginning of the year 1932 For sustain

110 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

THE NSDAP, And Who will become more late THE Freundeskreis Himmler .

- 143. ZstAP, Case XI, flight. 615, pp. 15 And sq. Czichon, Eberhard, Wer half Hitler zur Macht? Zum Anteil der deutschen Industrie an der Zerstörung der Weimarer Republik , Cologne 1967, pp. 28 And sq.
- 144. According to Czichon, it was the only photogelatin factory in Germany. If it is necessary take this statement with caution, it is still true that the Odin factories were a very important supplier to the film industry photographic. This explains the struggles to own the business.
- 145. Bracher, Carl Dietrich, die Auflösung der Weimar Republic, Eine Studio zum Problem of the Machtverfalls in der Democracy , II, editing revised And increased, Stuttgart-Dusseldorf 1957, p. 689 And sq.
- 146. Czichon, (Wer verhalf, p. 28) claims At opposite, in se referent has Bracher, that THE said purchase would have failed because that Keppler born would be not reached has redeem the shares of those close to him. However, we find nothing in Bracher to support this thesis.
- 147. Gossweiler, Kurt, Grossbanken, Industry monopoly, State. Ökonomiez and Politics of the monopoly states Kapitalismus in Germany 1914 – 1932, Berlin 1971, p. 339
- 148. Bracher, p. 689 And sq.
- 149. Ibidem, p. 689, Fn. 12
- 150. Nürnberger Nachfolgeprozesse, Fall 6 (IG-Farbenindustrie AG), Anklagedokumentenbuch XI, Ok. NEITHER 9757 (Affidavit Heinrich Gattineaus vom 12.6.1947)
- 151. Reichshandbuch der German Gesellschaft , flight. I, Berlin 1931, p. 293. Daitz y is presented as the owner of the Daitz & Co. factory in Lubeck, a firm which was a holding company with significant stakes in companies known to the metallurgical industry, mechanical engineering and building, and was also the holder of a large number of important patents and licenses concerning the large $chemical \ and \ pharmaceutical \ industry, \ the \ industry \ oil \ and \ construction.$ According to the same source, he was a member of the council board of directors of two mechanical engineering plants in Lubeck and member of the management committee of the Übersee dub in Hamburg and Deutschen Kolonial-liga has Munich.
- 152. Führerlexikon I, p. 89
- 153. Sasuly, p. 74
- 154. Ibidem

Chapter 3

Class factory Girl And fascism ¹ THE socialism of the barons of steel

Before there First War worldwide, two attitudes opposite _ has there class factory Girl se are trained At breast of there bourgeoisie imperialist. HAS these attitudes correspond THE two methods different of government described by Lenin². THE representatives "modern » of there bourgeoisie imperialist _ -that we found basically In THE new industrial branches of the chemical and electrical industry-, their ideologues And their representatives policies _in Germany were Already rendered account At turn of the century that the support of only the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie has the order capitalist born was enough more but that it was necessary to strive to also create a mass base in the class factory Girl. It is In THE process of transformation of there social democracy revolutionary in A socialliberal reformist movement that they discovered the possibility of a such support. These representatives of there bourgeoisie monopolist German saw In membership of the leadership of German social democracy and its unions has there position of there defense of there country THE 4 august 1914 a dazzling confirmation of there accuracy of their approach.

In opposition to this vision stood the representatives of there "tendency hard", of repressive policy and refusal of all concession to organizations of there working class, Who se found Before All In heavy industry And obviously - among the big landowners (the Junkers). The only organizations to which they allowed to workers to join were THE Werkverein (works councils), dominated by employers. This attitude was underpinned by economic and political causes. Economic because they were generally representatives of industrial branches that were less profitable than the new industries and more exposed to increasingly acute competition on foreign markets. Political because their narrow-mindedness prevented most representatives of this trend from correctly assessing the changes that had occurred In THE report of strengths between THE classes And the rapid growth of the weight of the working class. They continued has judge No only impossible but also useless the creation of a mass base favorable to the order bourgeois At breast of there class factory Girl.

This situation born changed that with there First World War , and especially after the October revolutions in Russia And of November in Germany, that's to say when capitalism entered into a general crisis. The war also made the Junkers and the most narrow-minded militarists understand that the ruling classes were incapable of achieving their imperialist goals without the support of a part considerable of there class factory Girl. There revolution _ October scared there bourgeoisie German because it provided proof that the proletariat had acquired the strength of number but Also - at least in Russia - maturity policy necessary For carry out " the final struggle " against there bourgeoisie.

A fascist party to achieve a " double assignment»

It is therefore no coincidence that the years of the First World War saw the first attempts by representatives of the "hard trend" to also create a basis for their policy among the workers. In accordance with the political line pursued until now by this trend, these attempts were aiming has eliminate there social democracy And THE unions.

SO that THE representatives of there policy imperialist "modern » wanted harness the workers at the imperialist cart with the help of the social democrats and union leaders, the declared goal of the other faction bourgeois was there alleged "nationalization "workers _ German And their "release » of the social democratic leaders. But their hatred towards the organized labor movement remained unchanged and had even transformed into an extreme desire for annihilation. The old will of destruction of movement worker then merged with the wish to acquire significant support among THE workers For answer has A new need: there realization of the dual mission of annihilating the movement worker And of earn simultaneously of wide _ layers of workers.

None of the organizations existing of there RIGHT polite-However, the tick was not able to carry out this double mission, This Who required there creation of a new organization capable of doing this. Under capitalism, the law of the offer And of there request applies also in the political domain. This new organization was therefore created inevitably After that there request of a such organization has manifested itself sufficiently clearly and strongly on THE walk of there policy. She born was born

however not in its completed form but developed to leave of different embryos of organizations.

The seeds were planted by members of the association Pan-Germanist Alldeutsche Verband. This association had close and explicit relationships with THE representatives of industry heavy (Kirdorf, Vögler, Hugenberg, Reusch among others) and the large landowners earthlings (THE county Arnim-Muskau, THE county Udo of Stolberg-Wernigerode, Gertzlaff von Herzberg-Lottin, the baron of Manteuffel-Katzdangen And others). THE fascist party, product final of these efforts, born was not invented but chosen At term of a sort of process of selection as the organization there more compliant to new needs of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie imperialist. This process of selection was particularly _ long because these circles of there bourgeoisie were not willing to support the founding of a " national workers' party " apparently independent of them only after it have summer demonstrated that all THE others shapes organization _ born led not At aim longed for.

He y had At beginning a attempt of to pull THE workers of side of there bourgeoisie "national" In THE frame of German Fatherland Party (Deutsche Vaterlandspartei), an extreme nationalist party founded on September 3, 1917 which se presented as A " left popular » 3. Behind this party was hiding from the influential circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the Junkers and the militarists.

Despite of big efforts –as there creation of a "section factory Girl", loaded of there propaganda And of the

"clarifications national-political" among THE workers, At breast of there direction of left – this attempt sold out by A failure 4. There mass of the workers se realized that this party represented the interests of its worst enemies. THE godparents of left took then consciousness

that it was vain to want to win over the great masses of workers has through of the organizations directed by representatives of there bourgeoisie. For this reason, he was decided of reconnect with the old project consistent has take _ THE "yellows » - THE committees factory hostile to actions that could harm has the economy - as point of leave for there creation of a organization factory Girl " national " Who would appear as autonomous For THE world outside.

There creation of a nationalist party pseudo-worker

Of the summer 1917, Wilhelm Wahl, leader of a committee factory in a Krupp company in Bremen, had created in close collaboration with the "independent committee for a German peace", spear in 1916 by THE Pan-Germanists, THE

"Committee free For a peace factory Girl German", Who was the starting point for the founding of corresponding committees in other places in Germany 5. Thus, by example, Anton Drexler, founder of DAP (Deutsche Arbeiterpartei), which was at the origin of the NSDAP, began its career policy by founding a "Committee free worker for a Good peace" has Munich. Wilhelm Wahl, All like Drexler, had the intention of drill among THE social democratic workers with the help of social-imperialist propaganda using anti-capitalist demagoguery, but only against the capitalism of the Entente Powers, and in particular England 6. To this end, Drexler withdrew from the Fatherland Party and became a member of the union free of the paths of iron in order to to acquire one more big base agitation 7.

Others people, notably Wolfgang Kapp, reached has there conclusion that he had to go Again more far,

And found A "left national worker". Kapp was of those who, Already relatively early, wished TO DO of the ideological breakthroughs among organized workers in the social democracy And THE unions 8. When, beginning November 1917, Wilhelm Gellert, an employee of the employers 'union of the mining of potash, active In THE movement employees, him submitted THE plan of foundation of a left Workers And of the employees, he him granted A support total. THE arguments of Gellert showed has what point the environments represented by Kapp had learned At course of the war has manipulate THE masses, And in particular THE workers. But at the same time they showed the limits of this learning capacity. Gellert opposed Kapp that only a national movement created by the workers and employees themselves could "save these of there contamination social democrat". According to him, "the German workers' party should not be an appendage of the Fatherland Party but a fully independent party, because This is not that with a such perspective that he could stand up against social democracy". In this perspective, the Fatherland Party could only establish itself superficially among THE workers, SO than a pure left worker having THE same goals could if implant Really deeply 9.

Supported by Kapp And there direction of Left of there homeland, Gellert fonda in FEBRUARY 1918 THE Left German of the workers and employees (Deutsche Arbeiter and Angestellten Partei, DAAP). Grace has intercession of Kapp, he was of the summer 1918 freed from his functions In THE union of the bosses of the mining of potash For take care of her charge of president of left ¹⁰. This left has Before All summer based in function of post-war, And not uniquely with a vision has short term. Always according to Gellert, THE left had to "to drive has A turn sustainable of movement worker towards THE camp patriotic". If

A such left was not not created And that THE workers, has When they returned from the front, they only found the old organizations, they would have no other choice but to join them again . And THE socialism would triumph 11. To achieve this change, it was not enough to pour new wine into a old jug, he "had to create some thing of new". It was there condition "For guide the workers' movement in a specific direction deemed correct and useful both for THE workers that For the Empire 12".

We see here in all clarity what was orientation circles THE more reactionaries of there class manager of the time: they born wanted not only A counterweight to the labor movement of the time, but its suppression And her replacement by A movement pseudo-worker nationalist below their direction.

Although Gellert was good at formulating his objectives clearly, he lacked the skills of an agitator. of mass effective. THE manifest founder of his party is barely distinguishable from those of similar parties founded subsequently, of which THE Left worker German by Drexler. He integrated Thus Already a lot of their anti-capitalist demagoguery and their anti-Semitic indictments, tendencies that he must However assign any further to the gray eminences of the Fatherland Party and to himself 13. Gellert was filled of a pride ridiculous having successful his rise of Status worker has the one of employee And he was limited to point of consider And propagate among THE workers his personal success as a model for ascension. Not amazing that with A such program, THE DAAP found an echo neither among the working masses nor among the elements petty bourgeois, of which THE worry was not not of continue has progress on the scale social but instead of not _ be pushed back towards THE rungs THE more down. In august

1920, he stopped to exist.

Its foundation was nevertheless an important step in the path to the formation of a fascist-type party. It was created because that THE eminences gray of Left of there homeland had understood that it was necessary to complete the slogans of nationalism And of peace by of news pieces ideological alternatives. Likewise, it was necessary to complete the organizational model by creating new political formations in order to of mobilize THE workers And employees who _ located " has LEFT of the yellows 14".

A new and significant fact, this was also the desire of the circles THE more reactionaries of there class manager _ German following has the entrance of capitalism In the stage of its general crisis. This gave a direct impetus to the enrichment of the range of bourgeois parties by of the gone of kind fascist.

Making internationalist socialists national socialists

In a first phase, there revolution of November forced the representatives of all factions of the monopoly bourgeoisie to align themselves with the position of the supporters of collaboration with social democracy and the reformist unions For avoid THE Bolshevism And consolidate the bourgeois order.

But the acute danger for the capitalist order was hardly discarded from Germany, that, Already, THE strengths THE more extremists of the monopoly bourgeoisie and their political henchmen returned to their old line and began to create the political, ideological and organizational conditions for the fight to overthrow the Republic issue of there revolution.

One of the many organizations that emerged from these efforts was that of Anton Drexler, the German Workers' Party (DAP, Deutsche Arbeiterpartei), based THE 5 January 1919 with THE support _ energetic of the eminences gray Pan-Germanists. The name of the party suggests that Drexler and his mentors intended to continue the attempts begun with the "Committee worker for good peace »: create among the workers a base for the ultranationalist and reactionary policies of the Pan-Germanists and the monopoly circles that led them.

Drexler had a lot in common with his predecessor Gellert. Like him, he considered that the goal of his left was to snatch there mass of the workers has the influence of social democracy and the "Spartacists » (following the recent founding of the KPD). Like Gellert, he believed that This aim born could not be reached with A openly bourgeois party but only with a party which se would declare "left worker ". As Gellert, he was only one puppet In THE game policy of his grand bourgeois masters. As was the case with Gellert, his petty-bourgeois conception of social ascension removed has her left all strength of attraction For THE categories of workers other than those who already had a pettybourgeois mentality. And finally, like Gellert, he found even not of words of order effective towards these masses petty bourgeois Who, more late, will be mobilized by the NSDAP of his successor Hitler. In the directives made public at the DAP founding congress, he had clearly designated his party as a "organization _ socialist » but, For the rest he had only put on paper that of the ideas illustrating her inability has solve the tasks he had set for himself. For example, we read that THE DAP wanted to "ennoblement » of the worker German : each worker established had to be considered as

part of the middle classes and it was necessary to draw a strict line of demarcation between worker and proletarian ¹⁵. Not doubt: under Drexler's leadership, the DAP was ultimately condemned to the same fate as Gellert's DAAP.

If he escaped this fate, it was above all thanks to a few officers of the Bavarian detachment of the *Reichswehr* parked _ has Munich, And in particular At leader of there section of information, THE captain Carl Mayr, And At Captain Ernst Roehm, staff officer of the infantry chief of there division Bavarian, THE knight von Epp.

THE military Germans, more Again that THE masters of monopolies, had learned during there war that no war could be fought, much less won, without A support solid among THE workers. Get this support was of the during became A of their more pressing concerns. We found In their ranks there even division on there solution has bring has This issue that among there bourgeoisie _ monopolist. There fraction dominant born lives first not else possibility that of seek This support among social democracy and reformist unions - a tendency primarily represented by General Wilhelm Groener and his close collaborator, Lieutenant Kurt von Schleicher, Thus that, temporarily, by THE general Hans von Seeckt. Others, led by General Erich Ludendorff (considered by German nationalists as the greatest strategist of the First World War), aspired to the most rapid annihilation and THE more complete possible of there social democracy (and naturally First of all of Left Communist) And has there creation of a movement worker "national".

It is Why Ludendorff, After her moving in Munich, took charge of the NSDAP and its leader Hitler. He saw In This left the organization appropriate For

transform the internationalist worker into a nationalist , a condition according to him necessary for a renewal of imperialism And of militarism German ¹⁶. Previously, Drexler's DAP had piqued the interest of Captain Mayr, Who was has there research of a embryo usable to create a workers' party national". He decided to try to transform this party into an organization usable both for militant interventions against the workers' parties and the Republic, and for the "nationalization" workers. For this reason he sent some of his protected - among which Adolf Hitler Who, has the time, was Again part of the band – to observe and provide of the accounts rendered of the meetings of This left. He wanted to TO DO of left national worker a troop assault for the fight against there Republic, as he wrote it in September 1920 to Wolfgang Kapp, exiled to Sweden after the failure of her putsch. He reported In this letter that since July 1919 he had been in charge of strengthening the DAP and that he had brought very talented young people to this task, among which "A certain Sir Hitler Who was a speaker of first class 17".

THE 20 June 1926, THE Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung, A megaphone of employers mining of there Ruhr, wrote In its account rendered of a encounter between Hitler And of the industrial of there Ruhr: "The fact that these first-class economic circles responded in large numbers to the invitation prove the importance what has Already reached THE National Socialist movement under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. The economy must lend more attention has This movement which se beat in first place among THE workers to conquer their German soul 18."

In august 1930, THE newspaper of there direction of DNVP (Deutsch- national Volkspartei) characterized the division of the work wanted between left Nazi And DNVP: "A develop-

122 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

lopment policy accelerated In THE sense of there national right can only be achieved when the *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* will regroup of there way there more wide possible all THE environments of there population resolutely nationalist but also favorable has the economy private , And When THE national socialism will accomplish there task of making internationalist socialists into national socialists ^{19.}"

Exterminate THE Marxism by there terror And there demagogy social

The Nazi leaders were fully aware of their mission to "
nationalization of workers" and did not spare not their
efforts For there carry out has GOOD. In all his speech
in front his patrons, financial And monopoly leaders,
Hitler se presented himself, And her gone, like the special
one strength able of fill a such assignment. In 1922, in a
letter addressed to a circle of entrepreneurs in order to
of beg of money, Hitler watch that he has perfectly
Understood This Who mattered to strengths of the class
manager to which he was addressed. He writing this: "Its
goal (the one of NSDAP) East, in Short, annihilation
and extermination of there philosophy Marxist. THE
means

must be:

- a organization of propaganda And education incomparable, using all means to influence the population,
- 2. a organization strong, without scruples And of a brutal determination ready to respond to every act of terror of Marxism by a reaction ten times more large: the "Assault Sections" of the movement ^{20.}" And he continues: "Also a long time that born would it be one

third party of people rejects this notion of the state And of identity national herself, All renewal East impossible [...] In fact, the proportion of our people who are under the influence of international Marxism amounts to more than 40 % of total population. This is a particularly shocking truth, because we account among these 40 % THE elements more assets And THE more laborious of there nation 21."

We have here A sample fundamental of the argument of almost all THE speech of Hitler in front of the representatives of capital monopolist: the suggestion that half the German people have a Marxistinternationalist spirit, the observation that there can be no revival as long as this remains the case and the assertion that alone THE NSDAP East able to exterminate the Marxism And of rally THE workers has there "Nation".

On February 28, 1926, Hitler spoke to major industrialists And tradespeople of Hamburg: " More than half of the population, adults, men and women, are consciously anti-German. [...] There question of Germany's recovery depends on the annihilation of the Marxist worldview in Germany. If this vision is not not exterminated, Germany born se will raise Never. We have fifteen million people who, consciously and voluntarily, have an anti-national conception, and Also a long time that these fifteen millions, Who represent the part there more long live And there more strong of there population, born are not brought back In THE lap of feeling national common, all speech of renewal And of recovery of Germany is just chatter without any meaning [...] The destruction and annihilation [of the Marxist world view] is something fundamentally different from what the bourgeois parties set as their goal. The bourgeois parties do not aim for this annihilation but only for an electoral victory. 22. "

In her speech sadly famous of 26 January 1932 in front THE bourgeois monopolists dominant, Hitler returns on THE same leitmotif: " Marxism must be exterminated! And if we are criticized for our intransigence, we proudly claim it: yes, we have made the inflexible resolution to uproot Marxism from Germany down to the last root [...] For 70 years, the bourgeois parties have had time to work. West the organization that can be compared to ours? Where is the organization Who, as there OUR, can TO DO to walk in the street, when necessary, 400 000 men who possess blind obedience and carry out every order? 23 »

THE county Ernst zu Reventlow, A of the leaders Nazis from of there nobility And Who played Yet always an exceptional role in the movement, even wrote in May 1930: "The rallying of a single worker to the National Socialist movement has infinitely more value than the adhesion of a dozen excellences or personalities 24."

The Nazi leaders were fully aware of the role And of the importance of their left as special organization of the ruling class to solve the new dual task. It is clear that the combination of terror and of demagogy social For realize this stain has summer undertaken very consciously.

The conquest of organized workers: by all THE means

This leads us to answer another question: how these efforts do they have conferred At fascism German its specific form?

Hitler himself made this clear in his speech to the Hamburg notables: "If we understand that our destiny lies in the destruction of Marxism, then all means that can lead to success are good. Here is the first: a movement that wants realize that must se turn towards THE wide masses, towards THE masses with Who THE Marxism se beat [...] In the mass is the source of all power [...] This broad and stubborn mass which is infatuated with Marxism and fights for it, is the only weapon of the movement which can break THE Marxism. When a movement wanna address the wide masses in grateful that This is not that with them that he can fill her stain, And when there question what is at stake is that of the survival of the nation, so we have All has do THE right to use all THE means who leads has OUR aim. [...] If I reach has TO DO to return the broad masses in the bosom of the German nation, who will do more late of the reproaches on THE means? [...] If we win, THE Marxism will be destroyed, And that without reserve 25." Obviously, these exposed born mean not that there demagoguery _ Nazi was uniquely oriented towards the membership ofworkers. Of the THE beginning, THE Nazis se are presented like the representatives of the interests of all THE Germans, before All of the layers disadvantaged, but Also in particular _ of there alleged class average. But on this point, they born se are differentiated that gradually of the others gone bourgeois, DNVP included, by THE your more radical with which they have supported THE demands of the middle class. However, no other bourgeois party RIGHT - excluding competing fascist organizations – born se stared For aim there conquest of the workers _ organized.

Although Hitler was prepared to use any means to achieve this goal, as his speech, he him missing there awareness And there ability to acquire the intuition, way of thinking and feelings of the workers organized in the socialist movement. He trusted the convincing nature of the arguments Who seemed obvious to him: that the history of the world was not not a struggle of classes but a struggle of breeds; that improvement of spell of the workers was not possible that by repeal of treaty of Versailles And the conquest of "space vital"; that THE roots of all the injustices social resided In "THE rent » And that this one was a invention Jewish, as all THE misfortunes of world, of which THE worst were THE Marxism And the state Soviet . It was exactly this argument that the patrons of Hitler, as THE magnate of there Ruhr Kirdorf, considered admissible.

It is Why THE program of NSDAP was very moderate in the formulation of demands "socialists". His editors (Drexler, Feder And Hitler) y however, included a few points in which workers could see demands that were familiar to them. So, we can consider THE point 7 ("We require that that the state commits has se worry priority of the possibilities of existence and work of citizens") as a periphrasis of the demand for the right to work. But it is point 11 which should have particularly resonated "socialist in demanding there "deletion of the dream-

naked acquired without penalty And without work", This Who looked like there take me At word of order of the gone workers: "Who does not work not, born eat not." As to has there second sentence of point 11, She said: "Deletion of tenancy." Point 12, like the following points, was also particularly aimed at workers: "We demand the confiscation without reserve of all THE profits of war »; " We we demand there nationalization of all THE companies _ Already socialized (trusts). »; " We we demand a profit sharing in all major companies » (point 13); "We we demand a extension generous retirement pensions" (point 14). As for point 17 (" We demand an agrarian reform adapted to our national needs, the creation of a law for the expropriation without compensation of land for purposes of general interest), he was borrowed At program of the workers' parties And was addressed Before All to workers agricultural and to peasants without earth.

However, it quickly became apparent that Hitler's argument and these program points were not enough and that it was necessary to look for more effective means and slogans. strong - particularly in industrial regions and THE "fiefdoms red »- if we just wanted to gain a foothold among of small groups of workers And to break at least some of the bricks in the wall of contempt and hostility.

This is not SO not A chance if, precisely In there region of the Ruhr, the social demagoguery of the Nazis went much further than in Munich, already in the second half of the 1920s. Gregor Strasser and Joseph Goebbels distinguished themselves particularly In This domain.

For example, in July 1927, Strasser explained in an article THE "goals And ways » following: "We we are socialists, We are of the enemies, of the enemies

mortals of current system economic capitalist with its exploitation of economically weak people, with the injustice of wages, with its immoral classification of men according to their fortune and their money instead of their responsibility And of their work And We we are resolved has annihilate This system what that be THE circumstances! ²⁶»

Goebbels behaved no less radically and "socialist" that Strasser. So he wrote In a of its brochures of propaganda Nazi: "If, has LEFT, 17 millions of proletarians see their last salvation in the class struggle, It is because that there RIGHT during 60 years THE theirs learned by there practical. From where let's shoot THE right moral to oppose proletarian thinking of class struggle if the bourgeois class state is not first destroyed of bottom in attic by a new socialist composition of there community German?²⁷»

Nevertheless, of such exercises of style doing reference to there "struggle classes" were enough to awaken, in a certain number of bosses, THE doubt as to has there reliability And to the possibility of using the Nazis, when they were not enough not has impress THE workers communists _ And social democrats having a awareness of class.

THE cells business of left Nazi: of the organizations of terror And spying _ service of the capitalists

There question decisive – a long time neglected by leaders Nazis but unavoidable has long term – was the practical position of the NSDAP in the class struggle between bosses and workers, their attitude towards the unions, in THE struggles salaries And THE strikes.

In the years of relative stability, the NSDAP was able to remain almost silent on this question and limit its propaganda to obtaining workers' votes in neighborhoods. The start of the global economic crisis, however, forced him to extend this propaganda to businesses, due to the intensification of fight for win the support of German workers. It was also in the boss's interest to be able to count on a Nazi cell in factory as counterweight "national » face to unions _ free And has the Opposition Union Revolutionary (RGO), counterweight which could also play the role of breaker of strike THE case applicable.

In 1929, below there pressure of several delegates of the regions Nuremberg Congress of NSDAP decided of pass has there construction of an organization of business units, the NSBO 28.

The same resolution explained that strikebreakers would be excluded of NSDAP "with opprobrium » 29. This part of the resolution obviously remained without consequences since the entire organization of the NSDAP business cells was basically nothing other than organization of strikebreakers serving employers. In besides, this resolution was canceled by a later recommendation, according to which only those who broke a strike could be considered strikebreakers. NSBO-led strike ³⁰. Until August 1932, the NSBO's attitude towards strikes was: no financial support to strikers. Her stain main was THE fight against "THE Marxism business", that's to say above all against the unions. This is how, in the fall of 1930, we found, in the work directives of company delegates of NSDAP³¹:

"THE delegate business national socialist has as stain:

- 1. to beat Marxism in its strongest bastion, businesses and
- 2. of TO DO of the factories A fief of national socialism
 - [...] At the forefront of propaganda must be:
 - 1. explanations of the betrayal of political leaders workers;
 - 2. THE features And THE goals of national socialism » HAS about of the activity political-social of NSBO, we y bed: "She understand:
- 1. THE advice At staff In THE questions of salaries, in matter of right of work, in matter social insurance,
- 2. There representation of staff face has there firm, face to labor justice, in the face of the red delegates and their terror.
- 3. There preparation And there participation to elections At company advice ."

In the introduction to "guidelines confidential for the accomplishment of our struggle in the decisive year 1932 against THE corporate Marxism ³²", we insist on the fact "that the NSBO is nothing other than the specific weapon For there conquest of the factories by there victory on corporate Marxism . The NSBO is not recognized as a trade union by the ruling of the Reich Labor Court. As a result, the NSBO cannot represent workers in court. Likewise, it does not provide any financial support during strikes. Doubts on this subject must be dispelled among member bosses . of OUR left."

In THE passages of these guidelines relative to tasks of Nazi business advisors, the role of the NSBO as an organization of terror And spy At service of the capi-

talists East exposed without blush: "There stain there more noble National Socialists in the factories is the fight for our movement And For annihilation of the enemy. What that either there shape below which the enemy come ours - whether KPD, RGO or social democratic unions And Christians semi-Marxists Who are at their trailer-OUR fight concerned all these training [...] Each national socialist East in besides obliged to establish identity of each delegate Marxist In the company, regardless of its nuance, and to provide its address exact. Each times that he East possible, he must try to get a photography of these people [...] If THE boss East member of OUR left, he has THE right to be constantly put At fluent. He will be Thus possible to sanitize each business, moon After the other, of the harmful elements, And A big number of our comrades of party will thus find work there. Such an address register could also prove to be of great importance after our socket of power [...] He East Also important of point out to our comrade bosses that, faced with possible drops indispensable of the wages, THE National Socialist personnel will show a completely different understanding of there situation economic one excited staff by THE Marxists.» There practical of NSBO was all at do compliant has these guidelines For breakers of strike 33. Nazi propaganda, however, spared no effort. in order to of TO DO pass there foundation of NSBO for a stage towards A reinforcement of fight of **NSDAP**

For THE interests of the workers.

The accentuation of the class struggle, essentially in there second half of 1932, forced there Nazi leadership against her will - No only has accentuate the words of order social-demagogic but Also has tolerate that THE NSBO participate has of the strikes In some case GOOD

precise and even puts himself in their head in order to achieve a breakthrough In THE "forehead Marxist".

For these situations specific, there direction of NSBO developed strike support arrangements, effective from 1 August 1932 34. In the general remarks introductory, we y asserts: "There political struggle of the NSBO in companies has the consequence that we must provide A support financial has our members during the struggles economic (strikes, lockout, sanctions disciplinary, etc.). [...] In general, we must keep in mind the following fact: the NSBO is not a union, nor even a union-type formation. It was and still is the form of political struggle of the NSDAP in companies in order to spread the ideas of Adolf Hitler, to defeat corporate Marxism and to win usable German worker elements to national socialism [...] The objectives of NSBO are clearly policies: he wanna free German workers from the clutches of international Jewish Marxism. This work is carried out above all in companies, these centers of Marxism. Just like the whole of NSDAP, THE NSBO struggle For a social improvement of the lot of the German worker. It follows that he must have a positive attitude towards economic struggles . current.»

This is not SO than to reluctantly that there direction Nazi its decided has adopt a such "attitude positive". She will try of justify this attitude in reinterpreting THE "struggles economic current » as a struggle of breeds: "THE worker is not not free politically. He East a slave At level social has cause of there domination Marxist _ Who hard Since of the years. THE character of the current economy is liberal-capitalist because of the domination of capital financial Jewish international And of lack of feeling _ national-popular. Today, THE struggles eco-

mics se unfold between these two groups dominant. In the absence of a salary or other agreement concluded amicably, there strike East tear there more effective of worker. We support the strike to the extent that it is clearly justified economically And if there situation social of worker risk to reach A level of human dignity so low that he can barely survive. We denounce firmly THE strikes explicitly policies that are carried out under the cover of economic demands, and We offshoots all responsibility For THE inevitable disciplinary sanctions and immediate dismissals. After review by the Senior Regional Manager VI, the decision of know if a strike East justified economically or politically is taken by the national leader of the VI organization or his replacement.»

So SO, THE NSBO born can participate than strikes Or THE workers struggle For their simple survival! To further restrict the criteria, the authorization of TO DO strike East linked has there verification scrupulous by the regional leader of the causes leading to the strike. After a "verification responsible", This leader regional office sends a report to the national leadership in Munich. The great fear of the Nazis was that participation in a strike can be authorized in a " "bad" company, that is to say a company which belonged to one of the patrons And financial of NSDAP. This fear expressed In the instruction next: " THE report East extremely important because, firstly, it serves as the basis for decision of to validate Or No there strike And, second, it can do political harm to the national leadership in case it contains inaccuracies or lies. He must SO there more high precision in declarations!" A strike No announced is not not recognized And born receives no financial support.

A big importance East granted has exploitation for propaganda purposes of participation in a strike:

" Better than long-term propaganda, the fact that the NSBO se put has there head of the strikers during of a economically justified strike will have an effect on workers. This is why it is of the utmost importance to popularize a strike under National Socialist leadership. » Before All, he must apply "has TO DO know the fact that the NSBO pays, during strikes, financial support of which THE Rising East comparable And - there most of the time – exceeds the support offered by the unions. That also gives the opportunity to draw attention to the fact that behind each member of the NSBO stands not only all of NSBO, but there power And solidarity of a left of several million of members!"

The responsibility of the working class and its vanguard to counteract the efforts of the fascists

There demagogy social of the fascists towards there class workers reach an all-time high in the wake of the strike wave carried out, basically below there direction of GERD, against the decree of reduction of the wages taken by von Papen _ september 1932. In october 1932, THE NSBO distributes a leaflet titled "Acknowledgement of there strike as a means to fight against the policy of impoverishment", In which we can read: "Each action of resistance of the comrades of our people affected by the latest decree emergency of Sir von Papen East justified not only morally but Also economically. It is Why the organization national socialist of the business cells place themselves at the head of German workers

mands [...] In this resistance, we do not give up either more has strike! [...] This is our strike against von Papen and its high finance! [...] Every justified strike against the system's policy of misery deserves our support below all his shapes. Seen THE failures of the unions, we have taken the lead in the fight 35."

After such boasting, the Nazis could not allow themselves to openly break the strike when, at the beginning of November 1932, Berlin public transport workers disengaged below there direction of GERD. They officially proclaimed their participation in the strike and developed has This about a gigantic propaganda. In the meantime, Goebbels, leader of district, And THE leaders of NSBO Berliner, Muchow And Engel, did all for disorganize THE forehead of strike of the workers 36.

Always is it that in participant has this strike, THE leaders Nazis have exceeds THE boundaries of This that THE representatives of the environments monopolists - including those who were kind to them could allow or at least tolerate, And they in were conscious.

Nevertheless, they had not else choice. THE Reichstag elections of November 6, 1932 were very close. THE elections of July had watch that THE reservoir of voice of left Nazi was exhausted And that THE left stagnated since THE spring 1932. THE left Nazi born could no longer hope for new progress in the bourgeois camp but had to absolutely win a new victory electoral, and finally provide proof that he was capable of raking in No only In THE camp bourgeois but also in the camp of the workers' parties. Otherwise it would be very difficult, Otherwise impossible, of convince THE President Hindenburg And THE environments of the oligarchy financial and landowner who supported him to award the chancellery to leader Nazi.

136 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

Added to this was the growing pressure from activists, who were has boiling by there propaganda Nazi, tired of the many promises and which could only be calmed by of the actions.

In August 1932, the Nazi Party's tactical shift toward participation in strikes was a party maneuver in crisis Who bet All on a last map in order to avoid an electoral defeat.

THE results of the efforts fascists towards THE workers remained without success, of less until 1933. They had not achieved their main objective: the ideological breakthrough among THE movement worker socialist (we understand here both the social democratic and communist movements). More Again, THE fascists born reached even not has detach _ THE masses of workers of obedience Catholic parties _ centrists And of the unions Christians. There struggle of the Nazis and their NSBO for companies, these "bastions of Marxism", se finished by a defeat dazzling of the fascists. In 1929 was given THE cut sending of the cells business _ Nazis. After two years, in March 1931, THE NSBO had in All 4131 members 37. In order to to carry out A fundamental reversal, all THE members of NSDAP, For as much as they be employees Or employees, were obliged of become member of NSBO. In september 1931, we started a great action "Towards businesses" under the slogans bawlers: "Do of each factory A bastion of national socialism » And "Not business without Nazi cell! 38, Following has these measures, THE number of members increased until 39 316 has there END of the year 1931 39. in parallel has there growth fast of number of party members from 1932, the number of members of the NSBO increased until 300000 has there END 1939 40, of which a large number of employees. The figure is not significant compared to At number of members of

NSDAP END 1932:

more of 800 000. THE 6 november 1932, THE number number of Nazi voters was 11.7 million. Free unions counted, in 1931, 4.1 million of members (We do not have THE numbers of 1932), And THE unions Christians approximately _ 700 000 (For 4.2 million voters from the center in the elections of november) 41.

During the works council elections in spring 1931, the NSBO - who had submitted their own lists for the first time - failed miserably, free unions attributing oneself 83.6 % of total company delegates, red unit lists 3.4 % and the Nazis $0.5\%^{42}$.

THE workers were THE alone band of there population of which THE percentage of members of left Nazi was lower _ has her percentage In there population total. In 1932, the proportion of workers members of left Nazi was lower than 38.8 % to their proportion in the total population (28.1 % of the members of the NSDAP, 45.8 % Population total) 43.

By against, employees stood at 113.5 % above of their proportion In there population total (25.6 % against 12 %), THE independent has 130 % (20.7 against 9 %), THE civil servants has 62.7 % (8.3 against 5.1 %) And THE pay- without has 32% (14 against 10.6%).

The Nazi Party became a mass party not as a "left worker national" but as a petty-bourgeois party, or more precisely as an imperialist party whose supporters were essentially petty-bourgeois.

Why did determined layers of the lower bourgeoisie rally around a movement which not only waved THE flag of nationalism -that these diapers had always follow up but se presented Also as a socialist? We can only say here that there loss of confidence In THE capitalism of wide layers smallbourgeois And their suction has A order new more socially just system that would protect the middle classes from plunder by THE big capital (And of which they were waiting the realization by THE fascists), were has there times a result _ And A symptom of there crisis general of capitalism. But contrary to what the defenders of theory of fascism as "movement social » and the theoreticians of "Bonapartism", THE left fascist was not originally created as a party of the lower bourgeoisie radicalized who – with the help of this party and in a two-front struggle against the labor movement and the big capital – wanted to conquer THE power 44.

The story of left fascist has brought there evidence of characmother insoluble of there "double stain" of mobilization of the working class against the labor movement as a whole. But She has Also watch there possibility unpublished by win there victory on THE movement worker And on all THE strengths democratic has ugly of a mass movement of a fascist, terrorist and militant type, recruited among the petty bourgeoisie, combined with the repressive apparatus of the State, and to achieve by formally legal means, that is to say without a risky putsch, to the dictatorship opened has which aspired THE elements THE more reactionary of capital financial.

Once this possibility is discovered and experienced, it was not more necessary, In others country, of justify the foundation of gone fascists by there "double stain": THE pattern of there struggle For annihilation of movement worker was enough. There motivation of there creation of a base of mass in there class factory Girl has she plays – And does she play still today- A role In these case And In what measure? This question must be studied In each case particular. The story of the movements fascists has also watch _ that even A left fascist does not offer not has there bourgeoisie

imperialist there guarantee of earn there base of mass wanted. Such stay the objective, but This would be a error of recognize a priori that the fascist movement has the capacity to achieve this objective. It is in END of account has there class factory Girl and to her avantgarde revolutionary, helped by a alliance policy correct, of thwart THE efforts of the fascists.

140 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

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 Speech given at the Scientific Conference of the Commission of Historians USSR-GDR has kyiv, 19-21 september 1978. Published below THE title "Arbeiterklasse and Conference of the Commission of Historians USSR-GDR has kyiv, 19-21 september 1978. Published below THE title "Arbeiterklasse and Conference of the Commission of Historians USSR-GDR has kyiv, 19-21 september 1978. Published below THE title "Arbeiterklasse and Conference of the Commission of Historians USSR-GDR has kyiv, 19-21 september 1978. Published below THE title "Arbeiterklasse and Conference of the Commission of Historians USSR-GDR has kyiv, 19-21 september 1978. Published below THE title "Arbeiterklasse and Conference of the Commission of Historians USSR-GDR has kyiv, 19-21 september 1978. Published below THE title "Arbeiterklasse and Conference of the Co
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- 10. Same, p. 5 (Letter of Gellert has Kapp of 27.9.1918). p. 3 (Gellert has Kapp, 20.7.1918).
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- 37. Rudowsky, p. 93.
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- 39. *Idem*, p. 93; see also Hermann Roth, "The national socialist organization (NSBO) von der Gründung bis zur Röhm-Affäre (1928-1934)», in *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1978, Part I, p. 49-66.
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The dismissal of the Braun-Severing government * The Left socialist In collimator_

I.

This article deals with the years 1930-1933, the period of preparation for the transfer of power to Hitler, and more particularly the events of July 20, 1932. The study of this period can and must help us to determine the causes and those responsible for the victory of fascism , And We to show how THE strengths of fascism and those Who him prepare THE ground can And must be defeated today.

There crisis economic worldwide of the years thirty, who is developed on there base of there crisis general of capitalism , had shaken the capitalist system to its foundations throughout the world, and especially in Germany. There bourgeoisie German, has there research

 $^{^{\}ast}$ Geschichte in der Schule , 4/1953, p. 177-190 $_$

of a capitalist way out of this devastating economic crisis, quickly realized that, to succeed, he would need abolish there democracy bourgeois And there replace by _ methods of government fascists. He had to in fact, expect that the popular masses will not accept without resistance the brutal policy of pillage and impoverishment for the benefit of the bigwigs of industry and the Junkers and the preparations for war.

The memory of the twenties was still fresh in the mind of there bourgeoisie German And She in had pulled the lesson: he born had to not establish THE fascism suddenly overnight, as Kapp and Lüttwitz had attempted to do at that time. This only served to unite the working class and even most of the population against them. people. So Why THE circles dominant of monopoly capital German were aiming instead there putting in place of a dictatorship fascist by steps, without Nothing rush.

In his great speech on the occasion of the 7th World Congress of the International Communist, George Dimitrov noticed: "Before the establishment of there dictatorship fascist, bourgeois governments usually go through a series of preparatory stages and take a series of measures reactionaries contributing has the advent direct from fascism ^{1.}" The bourgeoisie fears that the working class could end up overcoming its divisions in rejection common of a putsch fascist direct.

The governments of this transition period had For assignment to help THE movement Nazi has win among THE masses a base Also wide that possible for the establishment of a fascist dictatorship. They had to allow to units HER And SS of serve auxiliaries has the device repressive of the state In her struggle against THE organizations of workers And prepare of there sort there socket power by THE fascists. Nevertheless, that born means not

Dimitrov considered it a "acute danger situation » this stage where financial capital no longer reigned by the intermediary of system parliamentary And did not yet rely on the fully established fascist dictatorship. In fact, workers' organizations were not Again dissolved, they could become THE relay legal framework of a united and organized workers' resistance and, above all, the left Communist had Again some possibilities legal authorities to guide the growing revolutionary agitation of the masses In THE sense of there struggle revolutionary against fascism _ And there domination of capital.

In this period of preparation of there dictatorship fascist, leaders of the wing RIGHT of there social democracy were therefore indispensable to the bourgeoisie because they offered the guarantee that the workers' organizations under their control would work to maintain the division of the working class.

The 1st June 1932, the Papen-Schleier government replaced the Brüning-Groener government and we then entered into a new phase of process of fascistization of Germany.

Brüning, first time head of government from the 30 March 1930 At 6 october 1931 And a second times of 7 october 1931 At 30 may 1932, East A representative characteristic _ of this first phase. He put THE Reichstag on there touch And governed in leaning on the article 48 of the Weimar Constitution. His main support was the Reichswehr, of which THE minister In THE second government, Groener, was also Minister of the Interior. It is below her " government of the soldiers of forehead » what began has se develop there terror murderer of the SA and SS, that the Nazi movement grew thanks to

generous donations from of the same people that those who had put him in the post of chancellor, and that the party Nazi passed of 6.4 million of voice to federal elections of 1930 has 13.5 million of voice to elections presidential elections of April 1932. The ban on " national socialists" to integrate there Reichswehr was lifting, THE wages, treatments And helpers For THE workers, employees and civil servants were diminished of approximately 30 billion by decree-law, SO even that of the billion of Subsidies were thrown into the insatiable jaws of big landowners, industrialists and bankers. Always below her government, there terror against the party Communist from Germany, his organs of press and the organizations annexes was considerably reinforced. By all these measures, he claimed to act in " dictator against his will", as a democrat and a republican who certainly dismantled democracy and the parliamentary republic, but for "its protection and preservation"! His parliamentary supporters were mainly the Center Party, of which he was A of the leaders, And THE SPD, Who "tolerated" her cabinet. In front his supporters, THE SPD justified this position with the following theory: Brüning was a lesser evil compared to a government led by Hitler. Brüning even led a semblance of a fight against the NSDAP for example, in April 1932 he dissolved SA And SS-And fit of there sort of a rock three shots: he facilitated there stain to leaders of SPD Who did not have more than justify their policy of tolerance, he donna At left Nazi will have it with a movement "revolutionary" persecuted and this provides him with an excellent pretext to terrorize in a manner increased THE KPD in pretextinga "justice balanced".

But the economic crisis became more and more acute and forced Already has this era there bourgeoisie German to pick up the pace. When Brüning arrived at

the chancellery, Germany counted "only "three to four million unemployed; after two years of decree -laws of Bruning, they were between seven And eight millions! In 1930, the bourgeoisie still hoped to overcome the crisis fairly quickly. At beginning of the year 1932, She already no longer dared to make optimistic predictions: the largest banks had collapsed during the summer of 1931 and could be bailed out that by of the guarantees state (Danat-Bank born put even not be discount on THE rails), and even THE more big band industrial German, Die Vereinigte Stahlwerke (The union of the steelworks"), born put avoid the bankruptcy that grace to helpers of the state. And nothing go we didn't see of the signs of relaxation, GOOD At opposite! In industry of steel, "he had to to expect has a significant deterioration of employment" (Frankfurter Zeitung 06/17/1932). All that had worsen THE contradictions And there struggle classes, and would undoubtedly further sharpen them. The bourgeoisie wanted to thwart revolutionary radicalization of the masses in substitute THE government Brüning by the Papen-Schleier government. The meaning fundamental of This change of government East analyzed _ by Ernst Thälmann In a study in depth of there situation of the time. He is of a hardening of the aggressive methods of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Thälmann qualified THE government Papen of "government of "captains of industry", Junkers and generals, a government of the dictatorship of big capital which directly prepares the fascist dictatorship in Germany and wants to put it in place 2". This government, of which there alone composition already betrayed a conspiracy of the reactionaries against THE people - it was in fact largely made up of "counts" and of "barons »-, se stared For goals to oust totally and definitely THE parliament, of legalize THE organized tions of Nazi assassins, to use them to terrorize the movement worker, of remove THE government Prussian of the time, THE government Braun-Severing, And to replace it with a "Reich Commissioner".

This government Papen had seen THE day following has a bargain between Schleicher And Hitler, as we can read it in a circular from von Gleichen, the president of the famous Herrenklub, dated of 6 June 1932. This one We further learn that the new cabinet was not only tolerated by the Nazis, but that it enjoyed the express approval of Hitler. "In return, we entrusted Nazis there direction of some Länder And he y had also arrangements on Prussia, in other words on the designation At job of minister-president of a man of trust Or of a Commissioner of Reich And A reshuffle of the Interior administration with the strong help of National Socialist forces.»

In her statement government, Papen announced that he would impose At people German "of the sacrifices huge ". The men of the Papen-Schleicher government did not hesitate not has apply their program not has not. THE 4 June, THE parliament was dissolved And of news electric

tions were fixed At 31 July.

On June 16, the ban on the SA and SS was lifting And there plague black And Brown surged In THE streets, dressed from head to toe in new uniforms. The NSDAP fund used to finance these murderous organizations was supplied by numerous obscure channels of monopoly capital. Some of these channels led at the Reich Chancellery or the Ministry of the Army, others led even further: via Schröder-Bank directly to Wall Street!

Papen's decree-laws once again reduced the meager allowances of invalids and victims of

war Thus that THE allowances of unemployment. We imposed new taxes on workers such as the employment tax And there tax on THE salt.

At the same time, the murderous brown terror was unleashed on Germany And go away taking to communist and social democratic cadres whose names appeared on "lists people to be liquidated". Hitler's gangs attacked workers' accommodation, local of KPD, of SPD And of there Reichsbanner (the Self-Defense Union of SPD) Thus that of the houses of unions. He born se passed not A alone day without that of the workers fall prey to the bullets and knives of Nazi assassins. At course of the 33 days Who flowed between THE June 16 - day of the lifting of the ban on them - And THE 18 July, THE actions of the Nazis did according to incomplete data 99 dead and 1125 injured.

THE communists And THE social democrats served with impunity of prey to hordes beastly of the HER, but the police found always a reason For intervene when workers offered resistance to the rabble fascist Or put in leak THE criminals browns.

II.

There anger of the workers has respect of there violence of the SA is growing day by day. On purpose, the fascists moved their steps towards of the neighborhoods workers For dispute the Street to workers And THE terrorize. But THE German workers born se left not intimidate by there terror brutal . So, THE 17 July, has Altona, A neighborhood worker from Hamburg, they resisted the bloody terror of the SA units Who, supported by THE machine guns And THE vehicles blinof the of Eggerstädt, THE chief social democrat of there police, wanted to organize a march in the neighborhood out of pure provocation. Although SA and police bullets killed 17 people and injured many more, the workers managed has to prevent there walk.

L'" Action antifascist » putting on foot in may 1932 by the KPD brought together ever-increasing layers of the people and went far beyond the party framework.

The fight against the SA units strengthened the unity of anti-fascist action. We saw of more in more often THE workers _ communists And those of there Reichsbanner se lend assistance For repel THE attacks of the HER. HAS different places, they organized together their protection common. At the house of THE workers social democrats also, the idea imposed itself that he became extremely urgent of to create a forehead United of all THE antifascists. There direction of SPD, however, undermined its supporters' desire for unity. She organized This that we called THE "Forehead of iron", No not to push back THE assaults fascists, but For remove the workers social democrats of there struggle common with their comrades of class communists In the action

anti-fascist.

An important success, due to the stubborn efforts of the KPD to create a united front, was the interview that Ernst Thälmann had on July 8 with 20 social democratic comrades, during which he answered 21 questions on there policy of forehead United of KPD.

In a of his answers, Ernst Thälmann declared:

"We, communists, let us put only one "condition" on this unity: the condition of struggle. So ask your leaders, social democratic comrades, why they are making four million unionized workers lay down their weapons while fascism descends on the Street! If millions of social democratic workers

your and union members join us in the fight, tomorrow Papen born will weigh hardly more one soldier of paper3."

Anti-Fascist Unity for Berlin and Brandenburg took place in the capital, which met with another resounding success thanks to the efforts of the KPD. For there construction of a forehead United anti-fascist. From 1465 delegates present, alone 397 were members of KPD, the rest were members of the SPD, the Reichsbanner and other organizations, alongside 900 non-party members.

Finally, protest strikes against fascist terror showed that the action antifascist reached little by little little has develop there struggle against THE fascism At breast itself of the businesses.

All this proved very clearly that German workers, whether communists, social democrats, trade unionists or unorganized, were in the vast majority filled with hatred towards fascism. They were loans has answer with enthusiasm On call has there struggle against THE " assassins browns ". They were waiting this call No only of there go of Left communist, but Also of the leaders of SPD And of the ADGB (the Confederation of German Trade Unions).

III.

Nevertheless, the leaders of the SPD and reformist unions born stopped calling for "calm and caution ", precisely what monopoly capital expected of them And This of which he had need. There policy of capitulation of leaders of the wing RIGHT was dangerous For working class. By making the masses believe that they were decided to wage a decisive battle against reaction " when the moment would be came ", they explained that there socialdemocracy, supported by millions of trade unionists, by the Reichsbanner, by the Prussian government and its police, was THE best rampart against THE fascism And would repel any aggression. According to the SPD press organs, there was no other party that was so much in opposition to THE government Papen, Who either Also revolutionary and ready to fight.

THE 22 June 1932, THE Vorwärts published A article (also directed against a united front with the KPD) which contains these lines grandiloquent: "Social democracy is the only force that can build an unshakable wall against fascism.»

There direction of SPD organized of the parades military of the *Reichsbanner* and the *Iron Front* to make the masses believe that this was a real instrument of power which could, if necessary, be used to counter Hitler's SA.

All that For maintain the illusion among of the masses of more in more combative that THE directions of right of the SPD and the ADGB were preparing with seriousness and conviction a decisive struggle, while in reality, they were devoting the greatest efforts to sabotage the formation of unity of action between communists And social democrats, who alone would have could stem there progression of fascism. In words, they were "For the unit » And led a fierce fight against Papen and the Nazis, but their real fight was against the KPD.

He existed In there press social democrat a absolute rule: it was necessary to conclude with an attack against the communists All article on a action common of communists and social democrats against Nazi aggression.

Thus, the issue of *Vorwärts* of June 23, 1932 comments on a incident has Breslau. He recognize In A first time

But he continues: "THE communists broke the lighting of many streets and openly reigned in their street terror.

Of such slander unworthy aim has TO DO to burst the unit action born At fight.

Following the call for a strike launched by the KPD against the measures of " plunder » of the masses of the Papen government, THE Vorwärts replied THE 17 July In A article against "demonstrations and violent strikes" that he does not "had to not let amateurs blur this ultimate and decisive weapon of the proletariat!

These insults born were doing that hide their will of capitulation. Instead of presenting workers with a program of fight clear And accurate, THE leaders of the right wing of the SPD were developing "grandiloquent calls in THE style of " program action » of there direction of SPD directed by Ollenhauer. When THE decree-laws of Papen entered in vigor, THE Vorwärts of 21 June 1932 published below THE fat title "Call of the unions has there struggle » a joint declaration from the leadership of all free and Christian unions, in which the workers looked in vain for a call to fight or concrete instructions. They only found formulations which looked like has of German Nazi of there more beautiful vein. We could by example y read: "THE unions know that this era of distress required of the sacrifices "but" the mind of a true community calls for equitable distribution of the inevitable burdens. They se declared loans has to work of all their strengths For "give back to masses space vital of which they have need", etc.

These "demands" and these "programs" were not useful than to throw of there powder to eyes of the workers, such as THE showed very clearly there policy of Braun, the social democratic minister-president of the Prussian government, and his interior minister Severing. Prussia was the largest state in the Reich. With 90,000 men, his strengths of police were numerically almost Also powerful that the army. As Severing stated countless times at that time, the Prussian government had a firm grip on the reins of the Prussian police.

Naturally, Braun And Severing knew that Papen intended to overthrow the Prussian government and establish a government headed by a commissioner of Reich. Their declarations "energetic » could _ TO DO believe that they put All in artwork to foil the coup planned by Papen, but that fit really THE government Braun-Severing?

Severing writing has This about : "With the establishment of the Papen-Schleier government, rumors began to circulate about the establishment of a Reich Commissioner in Prussia [...] In these circumstances, the government Prussian was worried of born not give by one Or the other measure THE pretext legal At federal government to carry out its plans 4."

This was naturally only a way of camouflaging by a periphrasis formal And legal there firm decision of give back there Prussia without resist. We born will therefore not be surprised that Severing gave in to the demands of minister federal of the Interior, von Gayl, And se is even declared ready to ban the organ for five days of her own left, the *Vorwärts*, And during two weeks the organ central of there *Reichsbanner*, THE *Reichs-banner-Zeitung*!

This incredible fact is mentioned several times in THE book of Severing. HAS there page 341, he summary his interview with von Gayl, the Reich Minister of the Interior: "I I honestly told him my opinion on the general political situation. After the elections on July 31, the national parliament would probably be Also paralyzed that THE parliament of Prussia. If this blockage had to train of big orders, I understand very well that the Reich must, in order to defend itself effectively, join his clean strengths to strengths of police of the largest of states, Prussia. But to achieve the goal desired, he born must not establish A commissioner special, but indeed a personal union of the competent ministers of the Reich and Prussia. I remembered a idea Who had Already summer mentioned At beginning of autumn 1931 by THE chancellor Bruning, Otto Braun and Wels, and of which I have already spoken in another chapter of these notes.»

This "idea" East developed to pages 303 And 304 of her book: "It surprised no one when Brüning asked the leadership of the Social Democratic Party in early autumn 1931 to agree to Braun 's entry. And of myself At government national. Otto Wels informed me of there proposal of Bruning. Braun

would be vice-chancellor and I would bring together in my person the ministries of the Interior of Reich And of Prussia [...] We do not have not of take this decision. I have learned more late from deputy Hess that THE ministry of the Army had refused to give her agreement."

IV.

Towards THE medium of month of July 1932, Hugenberg And the Nazis publicly demanded the appointment of a Reich Commissioner in Prussia. On July 16, the SPD leadership met to discuss it. Severing pointed out that "numerous clues suggested that we would designate A commissioner of Reich Again Before THE elections". We examined whether he was possible and indicated to oppose there police pressed by THE masses of *Forehead of Iron* to this process illegal, covered by the army." But, "we in came to the unanimous conclusion, whatever might happen, to stay In THE frame legal of there Constitution ⁵."

This is how the SPD presidency opened the way has Papen For carry out his coup d'état! Already at the time, Papen could be as sure of the "loyalty" of his "opposition" » social democrat what can an Adenauer be today!

When the Papen-Schleicher government carried out its coup d'état on July 20, 1932, it had not the slightest doubt or fear about the attitude that the leaders of the SPD would adopt. He was much more worried about whether the leaders of the SPD and the unions would succeed has to prevent THE masses indignant And ready to action of se throw In there struggle. So Why, by announcing the dismissal of Braun and Severing, and the designation of a Commissioner of Reich, he proclaimed the state

of siege in Berlin and Brandenburg, threatened severe penalties can go until there penalty of dead And put in place of the courts expeditious.

Executive power was entrusted to General von Rundstedt. THE building of Flag red, THE newspaper of KPD, was occupied and the special edition containing a call for a general strike was confiscated.

As THE mentioned with satisfaction Papen in his memories, there impeachment of government Prussian took place "as planned and without incident.

On July 20, he summoned Severing, Hirtsiefer (representative of the ill Minister-President Braun) and some Prussian ministers, and communicated to them that, by a decree emergency of president of Reich, THE members of Braun-Severing government were relieved of their duties "in order to of restore there security And the order audience in Prussia" and that they had to hand over their mandates to Papen, Reich Commissioner for Prussia, and to Bracht (hitherto mayor of Essen), Commissioner for Internal Affairs. Papen asked SO has Severing if he was going to to leave her post with good grace. Severing replied: heroically" that he born would give in that in front there violence. HAS What Papen retorted to him, not impressed THE less of world by this

"heroism", that we would find easily A agreement if Severing held has save there face.

Severing born passed none agreement official with Papen, he returned her ministry and waited for the " violence » in front which only he was determined to give in. She came towards 20 hours in there person of new Berlin police chief Melcher, assisted by two police officers. Thus, Severing could finally "to sell".

THE evening of 20 July 1932, Papen communicated has there radio measures taken And justified their need precisely by the argument that "there social democracy had the intention

to form a united front with the KPD, which required action immediate!»

There new of cut state of there band has Papen had spread as a streak of powder In there population of the THE 20 July 1932. A indignation indescribable seized the masses and even many bourgeois. All THE workers In THE businesses, And Above all the social democrats, shared a alone opinion:

"NOW, he East more that time to act! If We born

Let's not repel this attack, after that it might be too late." Never Since there strike general decreed against Kapp and Cuno, there class factory Girl did not have summer Also unanimously decided And ready has there struggle that

This 20 July 1932. When a leaflet special of KPD was distributed In THE companies and in there Street with A call has the organization of a strike mass policy, it met with unanimous approval. THE Committee central of Left Communist of Germany immediately asked the SPD leadership and the unions free "if they were loans has to announce, with THE Communist Party, there strike general At name of the proletarian demands, as millions of people wanted, among which of the workers social-demo-

crates And THE members of the unions free 6".

THE workers social democrats were waiting impatiently that their direction answer has this offer. A majority of members of SPD, of Forehead of Iron And of the unions were convinced that the response to the KPD's proposal and the call to struggle could only be positive.

But when she arrived, she was completely different, incredible And incomprehensible, And fit on all THE workers aware of the effect of a cold shower.

First of all appeared A call of committee Berliner of the ADGB requesting of spot all THE "provocative" Who " distribute _ of the leaflets inciting has there strike general'.

Appeared Next – always THE 20 July 1932 – THE Vorwarts with the call following:

"There struggle for the restoration of the rule of law in Germany begins with a vigorous electoral campaign. It is up to the German people to put an end to the state current by THE gesture strong that he will pose to July 31 elections! All together with all our strength for victory of there social democracy THE 31 Julv!»

ADGB published there statement next:

"The latest political events have caused German workers, employees and civil servants to a deep emotion. They born must nevertheless not lose their calm. THE spell of there Prussia is not not still definitely sealed. There Court constitutional has summer seizure . It is the German people, and more particularly the German workers, who will give the decisive answer THE 31 July".

Supporters of the SPD and the unions read with disappointment And a bitterness infinite that their leaders told them to console themselves by relying on the Constitutional Court And to elections. Almost A million - Exactly 700 000 workers - in pulled there conclusion which was necessary and on July 31, 1932 withdrew their vote from the SPD to give it to the Communist Party of Germany. But the right-wing leaders succeeded through their maneuvers demagogic has to prevent A rejection unanimous of the coup d'état.

This is why, from July 21, 1932, General von Rundstedt put to announce has A postpone of Berliner 12 Uhr Blatt:

"It is true that during the afternoon I had a large number of these communist leaflets confiscated which called for has there strike, but THE left social democrat born its not attached has this call, And We can him in be grateful, he has At opposite called At calm And has there weighting.»

In a few words, Ernst Thälmann describes in a very precise THE role of SPD: "There bourgeoisie can establish _ THE fascism because what East All has do safe of the attitude of there direction of SPD.""

THE deposit of there complaint against Papen with of there constitutional Court And the affirmation that THE elections were successful has A " gesture strong of there go of people » able to undo THE cut state were consciously destined for induce THE masses in error because THE leaders of SPD does not believed neither has the outcome of their complaint neither has a success during of the elections.

Severing explain In her book that he had has various occasions do achieve At Prosecutor general of the documents demonstrating that the NSDAP was guilty of high treason (between others THE famous Boxheimer Documente), but that THE Prosecutor born THE had not judged "sufficient to initiate criminal proceedings.

As he had to there to wait for, there Court Constitutional Court also rejected the complaint of the overthrown Prussian government. He had submitted a request for interim relief so that return their functions to ministers deposed until _ This that THE Court return A judgement final. This application was rejected by there Court constitutional of the the 25th July 1932.

THE judgement on THE bottom, Who born was rendered that THE October 25, 1932, stipulated that the appointment of a Reich Commissioner did not go against the Constitution, but that the overthrown ministers could not be prevented from continuing to represent the Land of Prussia in the parliament of Prussia, At advice of state, etc.

As Severing noted, "we couldn't do much with this decision", but the filing of the complaint had the desired effect: appeasement of the masses.

elections was no different.: Severing, like all the other members of management of SPD, knew pertinently that THE National elections, whatever the result, would change absolutely nothing in the balance of power on the ground. He didn't hope even not A success electoral of SPD, as mentioned At course of her interview with Gayl: "After the elections on July 31, the national parliament will probably be Also unable of to work that THE parliament of Prussia. "The leaders of the SPD then envisaged a result similar has the one of the elections regional in Prussia of 24 april 1932, Who were sales by A big gain of voice For THE Nazis And a loss important for the SPD.

Yet, they exhorted their supporters has born not TO DO there strike in order to of born not give has Papen A pretext to cancel the elections on which the future of the country depended!

To appease the indignation of his own supporters before this treason, there direction of left tried of prove that any resistance would have been doomed in advance to failure and what would have All just served has TO DO to flow THE blood unnecessarily. The following extracts show the fallacious arguments to which they have had appeal:

"In order to of take there temperature with of the workers in major party organizations, trade unions and the *Reichsbanner*, SPD Chairman Otto Wels led of the leaders has through THE country a sort investigation into possible possibilities of resistance ^{8.}" So it was only *after* THE 20 July 1932 that there direction of left has thought about se TO DO a idea of the possibilities of resistance!

In besides, the *Reichsbanner* would not have been able to organize a action because She would not have even not could mobilize in time desired has cause of a lack of vehicles ⁹_ (!) ". Of more, She would have summer too much wrong army.

The Prussian police, for their part, would certainly have stood to sides of the Prussian government if it would have been possible to send instructions to this effect to the rapid intervention units fairly quickly ". But that would have been impossible, just like a general union strike:

"In July 1932, six million unemployed people weighed on the labor market [...] A general strike would surely not have not (?!) encounter there even mobilization that in 1920 and there almost entirety of the civil servants would have lack. Of more, of the hundreds of thousands among THE millions of unemployed would have stormed the posts of striking workers 10."

Every word here is a conscious and gross distortion of the facts and a brazen insult to workers. In reality, there situation in July 1932 was particularly favorable has repel with success THE cut state of Papen:

- 1. There class factory Girl was At less Also ready has there fight that during of cut state of Kapp in 1920.
- A united front of the working class would have dealt a fatal blow At movement Nazi. In effect, THE elections of July 1932 marked a retreat of the Nazi party in relation to has her score to elections regional of April 1932.
- 3. A workers' struggle against Papen would have attracted sympathy and active support from many of there small bourgeoisie.
- 4. He existed At breast of there bourgeoisie of numerous discrepancies and contradictions. A powerful intervention by the working class could have neutralized a large part of the small and middle bourgeoisie, and isolated the most imperialist fractions of the bourgeoisie. German.
- 5. If the Braun-Severing government had then taken seriously there defense of there democracy, he would have answered

has sending of the army by THE government Papen-Schleicher by sending the Prussian police and arming the workers grace to reserves of weapons of there police.

6. Finally, and most importantly, the KPD under the leadership of Ernst Thälmann had become a larger party than in 1920. It had accumulated enough experience to be able to lead the masses to victory in decisive battles.

But these are precisely the reasons for embarking on the struggle against Papen Who have pushed there direction of SPD to avoid there struggle has anything what price.

For complete This portrait of the "leaders workers", he must to quote there answer that they gave has there question:

"Who East guilty?"

According to Severing, it is the masses who are to blame, this are THE masses Who have bankrupt! And describe:

"THE masses had not yet become aware of the big importance policy international of there dismissal of the Prussian ministers to which I had already made allusion In my answers has Papen 11."

And of add:

"The people had already let us down on April 24 [during the elections regional And had Thus created THE conditions which were preparing THE cut state of government federal. Among THE people se found of the parts of drink floating in the current of radicals [...] The people had not resisted the crisis 12."

In more of there treason, THE taunts And THE insults! THE cut state of 20 July 1932 was of a great importance for all subsequent events in Germany. Her success has permit has imperialism German to take big step towards achieving its goal, establishment of a fascist dictatorship. Without the 20 July 1932, he no would have not could y to have of 30

January

1933! It was once again thanks to the right wing of social democracy that the coup d'état succeeded and that the bourgeoisie put se to pull of a situation critical. She has thus indirectly opened the way to fascism. If she had not betrayed and if she had not exerted all her influence on the masses in order to prevent actions against the coup d'état of Papen, SO, This 20 July 1932 would have marked on beginning of there struggle victorious against the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship.

There impeachment of government Braun-Severing_ 165

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Chapter 5

Origins and variants of fascism*

Fascism, dictatorship And parliamentary democracy

The transition to monopoly capitalism is there condition main of fascism

GOOD a long time Before that we born can talk of fascism, Marxists were leaning on there question of know what the transition from free competition capitalism to monopoly capitalism would lead to in the political domain. They therefore wondered what changes would occur in capitalist policy as a result of changes in the economic basis of society . bourgeois.

Before that born Lenin's analysis appears " Imperialism , stadium supreme of capitalism ", the work of

^{*} Published In THE Jahrbuch for Geschichte der socialist Länder Europas , flight. 24/1, Berlin 1980, p. 7-36.

Rudolf Hilferding, published in 1910, represented the most remarkable Marxist contribution on this question. Hilferding's discoveries about the new economic, political and ideological trends of capitalism, at the time when he was still a Marxist and not the theorist of there theory revisionist of "capitalism organized", found themselves, purified of their errors and their wanderings, in there theory of imperialism of Lenin. Hilferding discovered of the trends of which THE full outcome do n't would manifest that In THE fascism¹.

We have two reasons to remember today this that Hilferding said SO. From a go, he demonstrated a manner particularly impressive THE unalterable link Who exist between imperialism And THE fascism. On the other hand, a confrontation of Marxist Hilferding with the designer of the theory of "organized capitalism immune to any crisis shows that the transition from Marxism to revisionism leads to the loss of the ability to scientifically analyze society and scientifically predict of the developments future.

In the debate on the origins of fascism, certain works of Hilferding are particularly important to refute the conceptions which deny the imperialist origin of fascism and see in this ideology a creation of small bourgeoisie.

Here is This what is written Hilferding: "THE capital financial does not seek freedom but domination [...]. He hates the anarchy of competition and wants organization, but for the sole purpose of bringing competition to a higher level. superior. But For power impose that, to maintain its omnipotence, it needs the State which, through its customs policy and its tariff policy, secures its internal market and facilitates the conquest of new markets. has the foreigner. He has need of a State politically

powerful [...] Who born must not take in consideration the interests opposites others States. He has need Finally of a Strong state which asserts its financial interests abroad, which put in artwork her power policy... A State who can to intervene everywhere In THE world For in TO DO areas investment of her capital financial. THE financial capital finally needs a state strong enough to be able to pursue an expansionist policy and acquire new colonies [...]. Thus, a policy of power without hindrances favors THE capital financial. » Hilferding watch that these ambitions original expansionists economic revolutionize all there vision of world of there bourgeoisie:

" The ideal of peace fades away, the ideal of there greatness And of the power of the State replaces the idea of humanity [...] The ideal is From now on to ensure there domination of her own nation on THE world, a suction Also insatiable that the thirsty of profit of capital of which She East issue [...] This suction _ becomes a need economic because All delay in this area reduces the profit financial capital, decreases competitiveness, And Finally can give back THE smallest economic territory dependent on the largest [...] Racial ideology provides justification disguised as argument scientist of there thirsty of power of financial capital [...] The democratic ideal of equality has been replaced by the oligarchic ideal of power. At the same time, the power growing of the workers grows THE capital to strengthen the State in order to protect itself against the demands of the proletariat. Thus is born the ideology of imperialism Who supplants THE old ideals liberals 2. "

Lenin considered the work of Hilferding, despite cersome weaknesses, like a "eminently valuable theoretical analysis 3". For his part, he arrived through analysis has a understanding deep of the features polite-

ticks of imperialism. In his major work on imperialism, he writing: "THE peculiarities policies of imperialism [are] there reaction on all there line And the reinforcement of the oppression national 4.7 For Lenin: "Imperialism is the era of finance capital and monopolies, which cause tendencies towards domination everywhere And No has there freedom. Reaction on all there line, what that either THE diet policy, aggravation extreme antagonisms _ In This domain also: such East THE result of these trends 5." In another work from the same year, 1916, Lenin formulated the same conclusion from a manner Again more pointed: "There political superstructure which covers the new economy, monopoly capitalism [...], it is the turning point from democracy towards political reaction. Free competition corresponds to democracy. At monopoly corresponds there reaction politics ⁶. A times born, THE monopoly tends has autocracy No only in the economic field, but also in the political domain. This trend results from the constraint objective imposed to giants monopolists: to ensure the accumulation of capital necessary has their survival in there struggle competitive, they must to aim No only _ A profit AVERAGE "normal", but of the profits additional, of the profits of monopoly. THE profit of monopoly _ East got to costs of all there Company. There democracy and THE parliamentarism bourgeois let however to classes _ And to layers No monopolists there possibility, even limited, of se defend against exploitation growing and the plunder by THE capital financial And her sidekick THE land capital. This is why the latter tend to eliminate this possibility, to dismantle parliamentary democracy And has put in place their dictatorship open and unlimited, little imported there shape And THE face what can take.

Of do of This link between imperialism And fascism, the theory Marxist-Leninist on THE fascism must be an element of Marxist-Leninist theory on imperialism. To carry out the analysis of fascism, it is necessary to analyze the link which exists in imperialism between the economy and politics, and its repercussions on capitalist society in a very particular historical context of which We will have has talk.

There accuracy of This point of departure East confirmed by the fact that Lenin's description of the political characteristics of imperialism was confirmed by the advent of fascism And all her history. THE fascism, as movement policy First of all, but especially fascism in power, manifested itself everywhere as the expression of the extreme aggravation of the tendencies of imperialism has there domination And has there violence, has there reaction across the board. Its supposedly petty- bourgeois ideology, its pseudorevolutionaryism were in fact always proven be a masquerade destiny has deceive them future victims of there domination fascist And imperialist, there small bourgeoisie And THE proletariat.

THE passage of capitalism of free competition At capitalism monopolist constitutes SO there base economical and there condition first, And there more important, For the advent of fascism. There tendency of the oligarchy financial, arising from this same basis, to reaction and violence, hostility has there democracy immanent has imperialism, its natural aspiration to the unlimited expansion of her power represented THE first germs of

fascism. However, this tendency born took a fascist form only after the end of the First World War and there victory of there revolution of October, otherwise said after _ THE capitalism reached THE stadium of her crisis general. Next to the transition of capitalism to its imperialist stage, the beginning of its general crisis is the most important condition For the advent of fascism. In This meaning, we can almost consider THE fascism as A " product of the state of crisis of capitalism *".

There crisis general of capitalism as a condition For the advent of fascism

There crisis general of capitalism Who burst with there First War worldwide East THE result inevitable of the aggravation of imperialist contradictions and a global crisis of the system social capitalist. ⁹

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia in October (November) 1917 suddenly confirmed and strengthened the crisis . general. This victory demonstrated that THE capitalism had entered its final phase. This encompasses, it is true, a long period of history, but its main characteristics appear more and more clear. has through THE meanders And THE paths winding of history: it is about the replacement of the capitalist social order by the order social Communist has through a struggle of the harsh classes And worldwide.

The overthrow of the Russian bourgeoisie had made the bourgeoisie around the world realize that the working class was indeed capable of defeating them, overthrowing capitalism and establishing a new social order. The reaction of the monopoly bourgeoisie to this event historical was And stay contradictory: of a go,

She learned has appreciate, as rampart against there revolution, social-democratic reformism considered until then as unfit to govern and it integrated it into its apparatus of domination and oppression. On the other hand, the fear of revolution aroused in it the desire not only to contain the workers' movement within certain limits, but also to eradicate it. Overall, his hostility to democracy grew even more.

The tendency inherent in monopoly capitalism to reaction And has there violence, her tendency has complete the monopoly economic by THE monopoly of power had come to fruition until there by THE development of a state monopoly capitalism: a constant effort to strengthen the executive At detriment of Parliament And of the repressive measures has the encounter of movement worker. He then takes a further step : the bourgeoisie now wanted the complete eradication and liquidation of the movement worker revolutionary And of the state Who supported him, The union Soviet, And the action In This sense of certain reactionary groups of financial capital. This development led, among other things, to armed intervention against Soviet Russia. This is how Lenin described this situation : " All THE events of there world politics convergent inevitably towards THE even central point, has know: there struggle of there bourgeoisie worldwide against the Russian Soviet Republic

This evolution mena also has A "enrichment" of the political spectrum in capitalist countries through the creation of organizations and parties whose main goal was the eradication of communism and even the workers' movement, mainly by violent and terrorist means. The creation of such combat organizations followed the extremely painful experience for the bourgeoisie of failure of their devices military And

policies conventional face has of the workers armed revolutionaries. In Germany, instead of repressing it like we their ordered of THE TO DO, THE soldiers of the old imperial army had rallied to the uprising of sailors And of the workers. THE strengths of the Agreement who sent their armies to fight against the Red Army lasted contemplate, with a rage helpless, how their troops, contaminated by THE "bacillus revolutionary "disintegrated Or even se mutinied And threatened to return their guns against their own bourgeoisie. Following has This observation of impotence face has there class revolutionary and armed workers, the imperialist bourgeoisie, more particularly that of the countries most threatened by there Revolution, redoubled of effort For put in also place quickly that possible of the groups operational counterrevolutionaries In THE domain military And if possible in THE domain policy against THE masses revolutionaries. In Germany, they created from the remains of the old army of the training of war civil especially for there struggle against THE workers revolutionaries. They were, as THE body francs in Germany, generally _ directed by of the officers counter-revolutionaries. They managed to beat the armed revolutionary workers. But they were not strong enough, particularly in Germany, face has a class factory Girl united, for put on foot A diet openly dictatorial. It is This that showed failure of all THE attempts of this guy of which failure particularly scathing of putsch by Kapp. He their missed the idea policy carrier Who would have allowed of create a base among THE masses For there struggle against THE movement worker.

Conversely, the old mass bourgeois parties, including those on the right, lacked the structure, organization and ideology necessary to lead a fight

extra-parliamentary of the civil war type against the workers' movement. Above all, social democracy was not suitable for such a fight. Right-wing socialist leaders had proven their efficiency in dividing there working class and paralyzing its revolutionary energy. They had well defended the interests of capitalism against the revolutionary workers' movement, but their party had shown itself incapable of serving as a shock troop capable of of to break For of Good THE organizations of class workers. More Again: the wing RIGHT of there social democracy needed parliamentary bourgeoisie democracy For fill correctly his two functions: the division of the working class and the construction of a rampart against THE movement worker revolutionary. She could not totally deny the profound internationalism anchor In THE proletariat organized neither the idea of the struggle of the classes. In This sense, She remained herself a target potential of the offensive of the circles THE more reactionaries of capital financial.

THE events revolutionaries Who, In of many country, did following has there victory of there revolution October had made the imperialist bourgeoisie aware that its arsenal of weapons was no longer sufficient for the struggle against the working class. She understood that the time of there confrontation direct For THE maintenance of its power and that it was faced with a completely new strategic situation. The imperialist bourgeoisie therefore felt the more or less clear and more or less strong need for a new type of organization and a new weapon . against THE movement worker revolutionary, adapted _ to news terms of fight military And policy . Fascism was born to meet this need. that's why Togliatti called the Nazi Party " bourgeois party of a kind particular [...] He East has there times A left of

there bourgeoisie of a "new kind" Who corresponds in context of the time of there decomposition of capitalism and the proletarian revolution 11."

There function main of a such left And her main method of control, if they were to correspond to the needs of there class dominant, were Already fixed before his appearance And Before that we have find A name generic or A term For THE designate. Her function main: militant force of protection of capital has the time of there struggle to death that capitalism and socialism engage in at the level global. His main methods of fight: the combination between a terror of war civil directed against the labor movement and propaganda and agitation demagogic in order to of earn THE support of the masses. THE fascism was born SO of need of there imperialist bourgeoisie of dispose of a strength policy Who him would allow of pass, In there struggle historical against THE socialism, of the attitude defensive has the offensive For re-establish in all countries, through the liquidation of the communist parties and the Soviet Union, the "prosperous world" of imperialism, that is to say its illicit world domination

moth-eaten And uncontested.

However, THE fascism lives THE day In A context who was not not only brand by THE need of there bourgeoisie _ imperialist of a organization of fight directed against the proletariat, but also by its only slightly less strong need for an organization capable of tearing the great masses of workers away from the Marxist and internationalist workers' movement and of binding them sustainably to a political openly imperialist. THE issue of there

" nationalization of the workers » became A priority problem for the ruling class, particularly in countries where the idea of the proletarian revolution had found A echo important In there class factory Girl, It isi.e. the big imperialist countries like Germany and Italy.

THE terms main of the advent of fascism like new armed policy of there bourgeoisie against the class factory Girl can be summarized as follows:

- 1. The transition from free competition capitalism to capitalism monopolist And THE efforts of there monopoly bourgeoisie of monopolize of there even manner the power policy, of destroy there democracy bourgeois and of there replace by a shape state Who him guaranteed _ there stranglehold on the device of control policy;
- 2. The entry of capitalism into the stage of general crisis during the First World War, the victory of the October Revolution, the rise of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist workers' movement in the world entire, And there research consecutive by THE most reactionary circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie of a new instrument ensuring THE maintenance And there stabilization of their domination, repression and crushing of movement revolutionary And there destruction of the center of world revolution, the Soviet state;
- 3. The victory won by the counter-revolution over the revolutionary and democratic proletarian movements out of The union Soviet, grace has ugly of social democracy and the stabilization of the shaken domination of capital financial Who go away followed.

In THE fascism convergent SO of the designs offensive and defensive of the imperialist bourgeoisie. This is why it is not correct to see in fascism only a sign of the weakness of capitalism. And it would be just as wrong of born see In THE choice of there bourgeoisie in favor of fascism only a sign of its strength and the awareness that it had of this strength. THE fascism East always has that time strength And weakness, but always In of INT gossweiler 24/04/06 14:01 Page 180

the proportions

178 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

different. This is why it is necessary in each particular case to carry out the most meticulous analysis possible of the report of strength between THE classes For combat effectively _ THE fascism.

Of there geography economic-political fascism in Europe After there First War worldwide:

The uneven development of capitalism in the different imperialist countries had, already well before the First World War, the result that the anti-democratic tendencies linked to the transition to monopoly capitalism appeared with more or less force in these different country.

There law of development economic And policy inequality of capitalism formulated by Lenin had made it inevitable, after the division of the world between the imperialist powers was accomplished, the advent of a war world _ For A new sharing of This world. 12 The outcome of this world war had reinforced the factors which were already at the basis of the differences in the degree of anti-democratism of there bourgeoisie monopoly of the various imperialist powers. The consequences of the worsening of the general crisis of capitalism - there exit of there Russia of system global imperialist, the ruin of the economy capitalist, the aggravation of the antagonisms of class and social conflicts - touched, in reason of the outcome of there war, THE different country with a completely different violence. We can distinguish three groups of country.

THE first band understood THE country Who had only Or Above all drawn profit of there war. Among THE

States Who had participated has there war, alone THE United States of America was in this group. In 1913, they still owed Europe thirteen billion dollars. At the end of the war, their slate was not only blank, but they had also become the creditors of their allies who owed them 9 billion in loans or war supplies. ¹³ " American billionaires were wealthier than others and were, geographically speaking, the safest. They are the ones who THE more won. They have do of all THE country, even THE richer , their tributaries. They have raided of the hundreds of billions of dollars ¹⁴."

Imperialism American went out considerably reinforced of there war And was propelled At rank of first imperialist power. From that moment on, he could more than Never previously, realize of the surplus profits At detriment of others peoples. A movement worker revolutionary capable of endangering the system could not see the light of day under these conditions, not even a reformist political party of a importance any. There power economic _ brought by THE dollar made useless there putting in place In THE country of a diet basically base on the violence against there class factory Girl.

Among the countries which benefited from the war, we must also include the intermediaries, the suppliers of both parties or those who had served as bankers for the war profits earned. Among these countries, we should especially mention the Netherlands and Switzerland, but also the Scandinavian states. neutral as there Norway, THE Denmark and Sweden. Like the United States, these states were less affected by THE spin off of there crisis general of capitalism than the great European imperialist powers. They owed this to their privileged position as profiteers of war neutral, but Also has a structure economic

And social Who born aroused not of the antagonisms of classy too treble that in Germany. The economy of these country - Above all agriculture but also industry - was essentially oriented towards the supply of food products, luxury goods and industrial products of the big States industrial neighbors, there Great Britain, Germany and France. They participated in the economic expansion of the great imperialist powers and benefited from it profit without be affected by THE ravages of their wars. Despite the presence of monopolies and financial capital, in these countries the bourgeois order bore the fairly strong imprint of the petty bourgeoisie in comparison to the great imperialist powers. For all these reasons, THE need of a diet of kind fascist was here practically non-existent.

THE second band understood THE large powerful—These Western Europeans emerged victorious from the war, led by Great Britain and France. The destruction and the cost of the war represented for the people of these country a heavy charge. He had to y add the losses suffered by THE capital financial following has the cancellation by the Soviet government of all external debts contracted during the Tsarist era. The imperialist bourgeoisie of these country put however TO DO to carry a part of these charges and these losses by the defeated imperialist rival on the one hand, and by their colonies and their zones of influence on the other hand, thus avoiding an extreme aggravation of the antagonisms of class.

THE reverse of there medal was the influence tough of the opportunism in these countries. During the second Congress of the International Communist, Lenin explained has This about:

"who is it Who explain there persistence of these reformist tendencies in Europe And Why this reformist opportunism is it more strong in Europe western that at the house of

We? But because that these advanced countries have been able to build and still build their culture on the exploitation of a billion oppressed people. Because the capitalists of these countries reap profits far greater than those they could derive from the dispossession of the workers of their countries. [...] We understand that he either possible of take on this pretty sum half a billion to distribute generously to the worker leaders, to the worker aristocracy with the aim of corrupting them in one way or another. In effect, he is of corruption. We there takes of a thousand ways: in raising THE level of culture of the big centers, by creating training institutes, by offering thousands of sinecures to leaders of cooperatives, unions, parliamentary leaders. This is done in all civilized capitalist countries. And these billions of super profits constitute the economic basis of opportunism in the labor movement 15."

These super profits explain also Why there class dominant of the country from Europe western prefers to invest this money For THE maintenance of there democracy bourgeois _ instead that of se risk has to attempt to eliminate by violence _ A movement worker GOOD organized, revolutionized and made more combative by the example of the revolution October And decided has defend his acquired social. Italy was an exception among the winners.

The Italian bourgeoisie had certainly not lost the war, but She had lost there victory. Neither In the Adriatic, nor in Africa, his desires had summer granted, far of there. Moreover, there END of there war caused the collapse economy of heavy industry boosted by the production of equipment war. THE walk interior of This country Again has half underdeveloped was totally insufficient. Italian industry, dependent of materials firsts foreigners, could reasonably think power conquer

enough of markets has the exterior face has there competition _ of the States industrial strongly developed. There situation _ of Italy looked like more has that of defeated Germany than that of the other victorious States.

"In Italy," declared Clara Zetkin in her presentation of June 1923, "fascism found its breeding ground in the disrepair And there weakness of the economy. That can seem inaccurate since Italy was, it is true, one of the winners. He don't stay not less that there war had also very strongly affected the Italian economy [...] All the negative effects of the war fell on the economy Italian And THE finance public. A crisis terrible has developed. Industry, crafts and commerce are are arrested, This was bankruptcy on bankruptcy: there Bank di Sconto and THE factories Ansaldo - products of imperialism And of the war - collapsed. The war left behind hundreds of thousands of invalids in need of care, of the widows And of the orphans. There crisis added to hordes of demobilized soldiers in search of work and positions mass of the workers, workers And employees licensed. An immense wave of misery swept over Italy and reached A summit between summer 1920 And THE beginning of the year 1921. There situation objectively revolutionary created in the Italian proletariat a state of mind that was subjectively revolutionary 16."

However, as in Germany in 1918-1919, the revolutionary situation in Italy could not be taken advantage of . For to spill the order capitalist. He missing a direction with of the goals clear, because A left of there new generation, a Marxist-Leninist party had not yet seen THE day. ¹⁷ THE case of Italy constituted SO a exception among THE winners.

The third group brought together the vanquished of the First War worldwide, among which a alone

great imperialist power, Germany. In no other big country imperialist, the echo of there October revolution had never resonated so lastingly; no other country had felt the effects of the general crisis of capitalism so strongly. 18 The factors which had previously given rise there First War worldwide aggression And there particularly marked expansionist thirst of imperialism German were No only always present, but had gained in importance. German imperialism had lost his And seen her territory reduced colonies approximately A eighth. He born him remained that THE alone German people to exploit. The amount of repairs to be paid obliged him has share money extorted At people German with the winners. Its competitiveness was also greatly reduced by the confiscation of its merchant fleet, its railway equipment and by the limitations and controls discriminatory of her trade exterior. To compensate for the loss of its sources of profit gone up in smoke and the costs of the lost war, big capital German was constrained of All bet on the increase of exploitation of the workers German and on THE plunder systematic of people German.

In these circumstances, THE big capital German has of consider there democracy as A luxury that he born could _ allow if he wanted to survive And prosper. And it is precisely Thus that he perceived it. ¹⁹ He had not submitted to Good grace has this shape of government. Face has the threat of a revolution, he had simply chosen two ailments THE lesser. Because THE more big wrong would have obviously _ summer there loss total of power economic and politics. But he remained decided has pass, of the that the opportunity would present itself for a form of government which would offer more of freedom And of guarantees For there satisfaction of its needs disproportionate. THE putsch of Kapp of 1920 was

184 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

the first attempt to establish such a government. This was A fiasco And he him had to se resign has live provisionally with And At breast of there democracy bourgeois. He did not lose however not of view the objective to establish beyond of Weimar one dictatorship to powers unlimited. Of the THE beginning, there Republic _ of Weimar was not In the mind of the German monopolists And of the Junkers that one "Republic provisional 20". This situation explains why Germany is the only State imperialist highly industrialized Or THE fascism enjoys Already between 1919 And 1923 of a attention And of a support _remarkable of there go of different circles of there dominant class. She explain how This fluent has could growup, constitute in movement And even perpetrate a ten-

tative (aborted) of putsch.

From a other side, Germany of 1918 provides there historical proof that there is no economic necessity that inevitably leads to fascism. 21 From the economic point of view, for the reproduction of monopoly capital, it was more urgent to create possibilities for absolute exploitation in the years 1918-1923 than in 1933. But it is politics and the balance of power between classes and No THE " economic necessities » who settled the question of whether the monopoly bourgeoisie would be able to establish A diet dictatorial Or No. This is not not because the monopoly bourgeoisie would have been in better health economic in 1920 And 1923 that in 1933 that we does not live not has the time the advent of a diet openly dictatorial. It is instead because that there class factory Girl The Germans repulsed attempts to establish a dictatorship in 1920-1923 with firmness and efficiency even though it was not THE case in 1933. Nothing, neither on THE plan theoretical neither on a historical level, does not speak in favor of certain conceptions Who defend existence of a link inevitable between the crises And there victory of fascism.

In student there geography of fascism After there During the First World War, one area should particularly attract our attention: the area comprising the states located on the western border of Soviet Russia, namely the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe. Capitalist evolution of these country accused A delay important compared to that of Western and Central Europe. This could suggest that they barely met the conditions necessary for the development of fascism. But he born must Never lose of view A point Who East always important nowadays: imperialism is a world system, and the internal political relations in these small countries can be influenced And directed In a to a large extent from the outside, by the their monopolies powers and Afterwards, as We let's come of it notice, the advent of fascism East a consequence of the general crisis of capitalism. And the main cause of the general crisis at that time was the existence of the Soviet Union as ballast Today existence of there community _ of the States socialists.

There proximity of The union Soviet, will have it of this exampleple with of the masses of workers And of peasants neighboring countries, and the deep social contradictions these countries gave rise to revolutionary movements. In Hungary, we has even assisted has there training of a Republic of workers' councils. 22 From then on, two sources fueled white terror and fascist ambitions in this region: the existence of the counter- revolution internal And THE efforts of the powers imperialists victorious For circle THE hearth of there proletarian revolution by states with radically anti-Soviet regimes. These imperialist powers created a belt around the USSR to which we cynically gave the name "sanitary cordon". Their goal was not

not so much of prevent the extension of there revolution but Above all of create of the positions, of the points of departures for a campaign of liquidation of there power Soviet. ²³ If We let's leave has go Austria And there Czechoslovakia, we can establish For THE country of this region a series of features municipalities, of which there more important _ East their delay relative In evolution of capitalism. ²⁴

Others similarities in arise:

- a relatively weak bourgeoisie, most of the time without experience in matter of government. In indeed, in these countries – to the extent that they already existed as independent states before the war the nobility had been the ruling political class and it continued has exercise THE power jointly with the bourgeoisie;
- a numerically weak working class but capable of threaten there domination of there bourgeoisie And of the large landowners earthlings When She took there head – has like there class factory Girl Russian – of the movements democratic, and especially of the peasant movement for agrarian reform;
- young communist parties, barely formed, whose efforts to consolidate themselves and create links with the masses have been delayed and interrupted longer than in the large industrial states, mainly because of persecution, arrest And of there liquidation physical of their managers and executives;
- a weak and war-ravaged economy and a disorganized state apparatus on the one hand, on the other hand, the masses popular thrusts has there revolt by there war and the example of the October revolution;
- a influence relatively weak of the gone reformists if powerful has the West, This Who born THE prevented not

communist and anti-Soviet traits 25;

- a very strong influence in most of these countries, especially In THE country Catholics (Poland, Hungary), from clergy of which THE leaders were closely related to the class dominant;
- · widespread and long -used anti-Semitism Already by THE layers superior of there Company - Above all in Poland, in Romania And in Hungary – as a lightning rod against the anger of the people caused by THE terms social untenable. 26

Despite these similarities, THE States of this region se differed on certain points linked above all to their history and At camp that they had selected during there First World War. From this point of view, we can establish three groups.

THE first band understand THE country Who, until 1918, were part of Russia, i.e. Finland, the States baltics (Estonia, there Latvia And there Lithuania) as well as there Poland said of Congress. In Finland And In the Baltic States, the revolutionary masses had established in 1917-1918 A power Soviet Who was reversed by German troops and Entente troops. Bourgeois order was reestablished there by the bayonets of imperialist armies . foreign. He was "stabilized" by there terror unbridled white violence and the extermination of revolutionary workers. In THE States Baltics, THE diet bourgeois was created SO has there campaign a certain base among the masses by distributing plots of land to the peasants from the land ownership of the Baltic Germans. However, the bourgeoisie of these countries could not afford the emergence of bourgeois democracy without restrictions important. THE gone communists stayed _ either totally prohibited either, In THE best of the

case, In A state of semi-legal alternating with of the waves of persecution. For THE large powers imperialists, these states had to permanently remain a gateway for intervention against the Soviet Union. It was not necessary for truly democratic governments to appear in these countries which could establish of the relationships friendly with The union Soviet.

Poland was occupied until November 1918 by troops Germans. THE movement revolutionary was therefore unable to establish Soviet power there. However, beginning 1918 was appeared - Above all In there region industrial of Silesia superior - A movement of workers' councils . Red guards had been set up there. But the diet bourgeois put in place with ugly of the Entente to serve as a shock unit against the Soviet Union had violently repressed these blanks of revolution.

For the first time, the Polish bourgeoisie had a territory in which to establish its own state. But it was weak and torn between several factions. She had neither there ability neither there will of solve THE social problems burning of country, of which THE more important was the liquidation of large landed property and the distribution of the land between THE small peasants poor. There Proximity to the Soviet Union and the example of how it had satisfied the aspirations of the peasants through the alliance of workers and peasants gave nightmares to the bourgeoisie and the big Polish landowners. nais. The Polish bourgeoisie therefore did not want to take the risk of to leave THE communists to act freely And build _ a such alliance. By above All, She hated and feared The union Soviet. She was ready has ally to anyone who would organize a campaign for the destruction of Soviet power. She was trying to rally the masses has her anti-Sovietism. For se constitute a base,

THE second band understand THE States " allies » of the Entente who were therefore among the victors of the First World War. They had made acquisitions territorial At detriment of the defeated. In there region which concerns us, Romania was part of this group. Of point of view territorial, there Romania was certainly the more big winner. We him granted there Transylvania and the Banat Oriental; her domination was confirmed on the Dobruja southern, acquired in 1913 has the outcome of there second war of the Balkans, And, in 1918, She appropriated Also Bessarabia, doing part until there of Ukraine Soviet. Like Poland, it received the support of the Entente in there measure Or She could serve of base And of ram for action against the Soviet Union. With the help of Romanian troops, the Entente strangled the Hungarian Republic of the advice workers. There Romania fit part, with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, Little Entente" initiated by France.

There class dominant Romanian, All as there Polish, born feared Nothing any further that the influence revolutionary _ there power Soviet on THE masses popular of his own country. ²⁸ Especially more that, In This country very backward, THE movement worker had When even

of a core revolutionary GOOD organized among THE workers of industry oil And of the paths of iron. There class dominant Romanian didn't dare SO not put in power a regime other than a bourgeois regime of a character democratic very limit And control. THE Communist Party, based in 1921 has there following of there big general strike of 1920, was there target of persecutions constant and was banned in 1924.

THE third band understood THE old allies of Germany At course of there First War worldwide: there Hungary And there Bulgaria. This is not not A chance if it is precisely In these two States that there class dominant establishes Already very early A diet openly dictatorial. In Hungary, from 1919-1920, following the overthrow of the Republic of the advice workers; in Bulgaria, in June 1923. In these two country, THE foundations of the order bourgeois were not only threat by THE factors present in all there region, but he was submitted Also has of the charges additional imposed by THE treated of peace from Trianon (For there Hungary) And of Neuilly (For there Bulgaria). In March 1919, face to ultimatums posed by the Agreement which demanded there transfer of the two third party of territory Hungarian, THE government Hungarian of county Károlyi, resulting from the bourgeois democratic revolution of October 30 1918, born lives else issue that of resign in favor of a government of the advice workers. THE social democratic leaders had propose of form This government _to leaders of Left Communist of Hungary then incarcerated. This proposal was linked has there declared desire of the two parties to merge into a party which would adopt all THE principles of base of Left Communist. 29 Nothing can illustrate more clearly than these events the desperate situation of the Hungarian ruling class. She was Above all due has there strength And has authority

what had quickly acquired THE young Left Hungarian communist, founded in November 1918. The Hungarian bourgeoisie and nobility had clearly exhausted all their strategies of government And they confessed their inability has to drive more Before there destiny of there nation. However, THE do that there bourgeoisie tolerated there formation of a government of workers' councils did not mean that it was handing over power willingly to the class factory Girl. She wanted to instead use it For fill out a assignment For which there bourgeoisie And his parties were no longer up to the task. She was also counting on the wing RIGHT of there direction social democrat For to guarantee has A moment given A back of there Republic of the

advice workers has there Republic bourgeois. 30

After there defeat of there Republic of the advice Hungarian workers, Hungary became the country where the white terror indulged in the worst orgies of unparalleled cruelty. It is through this terror the Horthy dictatorship was established which, despite some twists and turns, lasted until October 1944. It was then succeeded by the dictatorship of Ferenc Szálas, the puppet of the German fascists.

THE treaty of peace of Trianon, imposed has there Hungary THE June 4 1920, reduced her territory has A third party of her pre-war area and its population more than half. Austria, there Yugoslavia, there Czechoslovakia, And especially Romania was able to expand their territory at its expense. By elsewhere, there Hungary dut pay of the repairs considerable. Her army was limited has 35 000 men. 31

THE treaty of Trianon has deteriorated of way draconian situation of a big part of people Hungarian. Many Hungarian alive In THE territories lost – Above all THE civil servants, members of the intelligentsia and traders – left more or less against their free will This Who had summer until there their country.

A lot returned in Hungary without Nothing, without accommodation and came to swell the ranks of the desperate. It was necessary to transform 14000 wagons of path of iron in shelters emergency For house temporarily of the people. 32 Of many officers and career soldiers were deprived of their source of livelihood as they no longer had their place in this army scaled down. Their bitterness was consciously transformed in anti-Semitism. There small bourgeoisie had already been climb against there Republic of the advice workers by about anti-Semitic, invoking THE do that some of its leaders were of Jewish origin. The anger of the people was now channeled against the Jewish bankers, the tradespeople Jews Or THE owners of Jewish housing. Of the organizations of kind fascist Who combined the nationalism, THE revanchism unbridled, anti-Semitism with of the slogans anticapitalist were recruiting In THE middle of there small bourgeoisie uprooted And declassified. These organizations _terrorized No only THE workers, but also attacked stores and homes of rich bourgeois Jews, And even has of the owners land . HAS his beginnings, there dictatorship of Horthy will rely on these elements for his assassinations of socialist workers. 33 The situation of the Hungarian ruling class was still complicated by THE contradictions between there large land ownership and financial capital, through divergences on there way of put on foot the state And on orientation of there policy foreign. He existed, he East TRUE, a broad consensus to return to the monarchy, but no one was not All right on there person that he had to to put to her head. Some pleaded For THE back of the Habsburg, others did not want to hear about it and wanted an elective monarchy. Horthy found a way out of this dilemma by postponing the question to an indefinite date. He se fit elect "administrator of Reich » And

replied by THE weapons has all THE attempts of restore the Habsburg monarchy.

The internal ruptures of the Hungarian bourgeoisie, its thirst for revenge and its wish to recover lost territories as soon as possible explain why the army and its leader Horthy remained, even after the crushing . of there Republic of the advice workers, a postman of first order In there policy.

For the Agreement, Horthy, GOOD that old admiral In Marine Austrian during there war, was No only tolerable, he was even welcome because he was known to be an opponent of the restoration of the monarchy of the Habsburg. 34 However, there will Hungarian (and review the borders to insurmountable obstacle to the creation of a united anti-Soviet front by all the countries in this zone. The Little Entente was certainly directed against the Soviet Union, but at first it mainly served to protect the territories acquired At detriment of Austria, of there Hungary And of Bulgaria 35 and to guarantee the established post-war European order by THE treated of Paris below THE patronage French. Due to its wishes to revise its borders, but also to the character of its regime, Hungary naturally moved closer to fascist Italy and Hitler's Germany and finally allied itself with them during the Second World War. The main reason for the establishment and of there longevity of there dictatorship of Horthy was the oppression of the working class. We always wanted to avoid that the Communist Party can once again acquire a strength which him would allow of direct THE masses In there fight for a Republic of Workers and Peasants.

In Bulgaria also, there class workers revolutionnaire and the revolting population were the subject of violent persecution terrorists After there repression of the fights

revolutionaries from the fall of 1918. ³⁶ Nevertheless, the influence of the communists grew irresistibly. The pro-German party of Tsar Ferdinand, of the House of Saxe- Coburg, was deeply hated. He led Bulgaria on the side of Germany during the First War. worldwide And had it led has there defeat. To parliamentary elections of 1919, the peasants' party, in the countryside, and the communist party, in the cities, won most of the votes. In the elections of 1920, all the bourgeois parties combined (without the peasants' party) obtained 250 000 voice; in 1923, they only obtained 219 000. The Bulgarian Communist Party, on the other hand, obtained 148,000 voice in 1920 And 230000 in 1923!³⁷

There class factory Girl Bulgarian was certainly numerically weak but She was GOOD organized : 40 % of the workers were members of Left Communist! ³⁸

The abdication, in October 1918, of Ferdinand in favor of her son Boris has permit of save there monarchy, but it was a symptom of the serious crisis that the bourgeois order was going through.

HAS the west, there Bulgaria has of to sell of the territories has Yugoslavia, At south has there Greece, This Who him fit lose access _ to the Aegean Sea; to the northeast, it ceded Southern Dobruja has there Romania. By elsewhere, She has of pay 2.25 billion of francs gold to winners has side of payments in nature to there Yugoslavia, has there Greece And has there Romania. Her army has summer scaled down has 20000 men. ³⁹ There domination of the bourgeoisie was has penalty less shaken in Bulgaria than in Hungary. 40 In 1920, She has of accept there training of a government by THE chief of left of the peasants, Stambolijski, whose measures clearly expressed the desire to pursue an independent peasant policy, based on the masses of peasants, and directed at the same time against big capital And against there class factory Girl. Stambolijski had to inevi-

table fail. By constantly strengthening its fight against THE communists, he isolated himself of the alone allies who could protect it from the attacks of the bourgeoisie. After the bourgeoisie had reconstituted its forces, it struck. As in Hungary, She se served of the army. Stambolijski was overthrown on June 9, 1923 by a military coup before to be murdered. A dictatorship was established. It owes its name to Minister-President Alexander Zankoff who This cut state door At power. 41

The Bulgarian Communist Party misinterpreted the situation And was stay neutral during of cut military. He considered _ THE putsch against THE government Stambolijski as a simple struggle of power between two equally reactionary fractions of the bourgeoisie. A few weeks later, on September 22 and 23, 1923, he called the masses has se revolt against THE diet of Zankoff but the revolt was repressed And THE PCB was constrained has complete illegality . 42

As in Hungary, the Bulgarian ruling class was not not in measure of stabilize her domination below the form of a bourgeois democratic regime. From 1923, the people Bulgarian lived below THE yoke of a dictatorship similar to that of Horthy in Hungary.

THE two main types of dictatorship fascist

More or less limited bourgeois democracies and two diets openly dictatorial se therefore constituted in this region between 1919 and 1923.

He existed And exist always among THE Marxists different opinions has about of there nature of these two dictatorships, as of those, similar, Who se will form more 196 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

late -by example in Poland After THE cut state of Józef Pilsudski in may 1926. George Dimitrov THE characterized dictatorships with certain specificities. He wrote in 1928: "THE terms particular of the country of southeast of Europe confer At fascism A character particular. This particularity resides In THE do that, In these country, the fascism born come not from down, as A movement of mass, For seize of power, has there difference of fascism in Italy for example, but on the contrary comes from high, until This that he establishes itself as shape of state government. Relying on usurped state power, on THE strengths military of there bourgeoisie And the power financial of capital banker, THE fascism strives to penetrate the masses and secure ideological, political and organizational support among them 43. " During of her seventh Congress global, the Communist International confirmed the analysis which qualifies these dictatorships of "shapes of fascism". This analysis East still widely shared today. 44 Others, however, think that a distinction must be made between these dictatorships And THE dictatorships fascists because he their would miss essential characteristics specific to fascism. According to them, THE capital financial In these country would not exist not or would be very little developed. By elsewhere, of such diets would not have been brought to power by a mass movement fascist, they would have instead served of rampart against one such movement. 45 There terror would not have not taken of such proportions Or a such magnitude that in Italy Or in Germany. THE gone workers, THE unions And even THE gone communists would be remains of the gone legally admitted. Moreover, THE governments In these dictatorships would not have had there stability And there strength of "real" States fascists. When we compared THE dictatorships of Horthy Or by Zankoff with THE fascism German, we born can obviouslytruly fascists.

We cannot resolve the problem of defining fascism in establishing a list of features, a well-defined model that could be placed alongside that of the bourgeois regime and which would allow us to immediately decide THE do of know if he is of a diet fascist or not. Reality is far too rich in variants and intermediate forms to allow ourselves to be locked into diagrams. " We would be committing a gross error in trying to establish a valid development plan for fascism. For all THE country And For all THE peoples 46. " put _ in guard George Dimitrov In there conclusion has his speech during of VII th Congress global of the Communist International. "No general characteristics of fascism, he continues, Also just be it, born We will dispense with the need to concretely study and take into consideration the particularities of the development of fascism and the various forms of fascist dictatorship in different countries. In every country it is necessary to research, study and discover what fascism has of properly national, of specific And to establish in result THE methods And THE shapes effective fight against fascism 47."

As THE said Dimitrov, he must leave of point of view that THE fascism, as All other phenomenon social, appears in different forms, different variants and that This would be SO fake of TO DO of moon of among they,

example German, there reference of fascism. Among the many variants of a genre, there always exist some which manifest the characteristics of the entire genre in a particularly clear, particularly pure form, which are in a certain way the incarnation of it " classic ". For THE gender " fascist ", this certainly applies to the German variant. But the other variants do not cease to be part of This even gender because that they born present not all the characteristics of the genre with the same intensity. There shape " classic » is not classic that because that it is unique, that because it manifests in a unique way what is present in all forms of the genre, what they all tend towards, without however reaching everywhere THE even degree of maturity. In effect, this maturity requires of the terms Who born are not present everywhere. THE terms main Who have do of fascism German THE fascism " classic » are the following: All First of all, he was the instrument of a very powerful strong, of there second power imperialist, THE more eager, THE more voracious And THE more warlike of all imperialist raiders; then he had to do, inside, has a class factory Girl of which the avantgarde revolutionary was among the most powerful sections of the international communist movement.

HAS the opposite, THE dictatorships Hungarian And Bulgarians – like later the Polish, Lithuanian, Portuguese, etc. – represent variants of fascism that arose and developed in conditions that did not favor not with a such strength At development all _ THE features And of all THE properties of fascism Or Who born allowed not their emergence. But then, one asks, what differentiates these dictatorships? of the dictatorships military usual? A such

her content and therefore renders it unusable? Based on these considerations, we propose not to designate by the adjective "fascist " that THE dictatorships Who

respond has there description next:

"THE dictatorships fascists come to power with the help of a mass movement and subsequently combine terror with a desire to ideologically frame and way organizational there Company whole. This in doing so, they bring part of the mass to actively support the system and ideologically isolate the opposition from the masses 48. "

Kuhnl justifies her proposal of there manner next:

" THE two types of reactionary dictatorship (namely military and police dictatorship on the one hand, fascist dictatorship on the other - KG) are certainly identical from the point from the point of view of their social function, but different at the level of their Genesis, of the terms of their success And of the structure of power. So Why, he born seems therefore not indicated, for reasons of conceptual clarity and precision, of THE designate by THE even term of "fascism". He should to book This term At second type which only appeared in the 20th century and which supposes the presence of organized masses on the historical scene. This also corresponds to the real course of history which has not generated This concept that at 20th - century 49."

He East All has do exact of relate THE fascism has a period of the story, but This would be miss of precision that to take For that THE 20th - century. He should instead THE place historically has the time Who followed there first victory of the proletarian revolution, the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism. But the beginning of this period marked her footprint all THE shapes of domination bourgeois, bourgeois parliamentarism like the dictatorships

military structures. It should also be noted that the term "military dictatorship" designates regimes of different political and social content, reactionary and progressive. And even among reactionary military dictatorships, we distinguish different types and different degrees, going of diets relatively moderate, like this one of general von Seeckt in Germany in 1923, until _ of the diets fascists as there Greece of the Colonels and, Above all, THE Chile of Pinochet. The opposition done between military dictatorships and fascist dictatorships therefore hardly serves to unravel the problem. But there is more important Again: the idea of there difference qualitative fundamental between the "conditions for success" and the "power structures" of military dictatorships and dictatorships established by of the gone fascists se based certainly on historical experiences, more precisely on the experiences of fascism German. But She born makes not count of do that THE terms of success of This fascism _ flowed of a together of factors unique historical records impossible to reproduce, nor due to the fact that its influence growing on THE masses is not in none case an obligatory characteristic of this type of fascism.

So much The example Italian (crisis Matteotti) that the German example (30 June 1934) have watch At opposite that after the fascist mass parties took power there came a fast disillusionment of the members And a reduction of the base of mass of there dictatorship. This tendency born has not continued, but this is not due to inherent factors At fascism, but has A turnaround In there conjuncture _ capitalist, has know the entrance In a phase of relative stabilization In THE years 1924-1925, there END of crisis economic worldwide And THE beginning of there race to armaments After 1934-1935. Do characteristic, THE fascism Italian Who is silent watch unable of hold Italy

in out of there crisis economic worldwide, born benefited more After 1933 of even support massive of there go masses than before. This was evident in THE chess military In there war from Abyssinia in 1935, in Spain in 1937 (where the Italian anti-fascists of the Garibaldi battalion united with other members of the international brigades put to flight the blackshirt units sent by Mussolini) ⁵⁰ and in Greece in 1940. This finally appeared in the struggle of the Italian partisans against THE fascism.

The story of fascism German, usually considered, but has wrong, as The example kind of "normal course » of a fascist dictatorship, is in fact unique and completely atypical. The only typical aspect is the inevitability of its decline. But his triumphant rise, apparently irresistible until 1941, explains itself Above all by THE do that imperialism fascist German played the role of " shock troop of the international counter-revolution 51 » At course of this period of preparation of imperialism global For there campaign extermination of The union Soviet planned Since a long time Already. To enable it to fulfill this role, the Western powers authorized Hitler's Germany to infringe THE treaty of Versailles And has se rearm without boundaries, what allowed him to realize the "miracle » full employment. This simple do him allowed of conquer THE heart of more workers than all the fascist demagoguery. The Western powers also offered him, through the scandalous agreements of Munich, without none effort, a series of success sensational unimaginable until then in the field of foreign policy: from the recovery of the Saarland to the "repatriation" of the Sudetenland. These success increased enormously THE prestige of Nazi regime -And not only At breast of there population German.

202 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

Nothing does not illustrate better the attitude of the powers Western Before THE agreements of Munich that there "policy of non- intervention » in the face of the agony of Republican Spain. This attitude contributed has propagate this famous atmosphere _ of the years thirty Who fit believe has of many contemporaries that the advent of a fascist era was inevitable And that all resistance was useless. They took it as the result of forces supposedly inherent to fascism This Who was in reality THE result of a policy anti-Soviet almost suicidal of the rivals imperialists of Germany Nazi conscious of their interests of class. Even Italian fascism, although already strongly compromised, took advantage of this atmosphere widely widespread to regain credibility among the many skeptical Italians. He could in fact present himself as THE pioneer of there new time "fascist", GOOD that he had to to leave THE role dominant has the epigone of North Who had grown over his head. The rapid victories of the Wehrmacht fascist on all those what attacked added _ has All that THE myth of invincibility. In Poland, in Norway Or on THE fields of battle French Or the German armies had been defeated during the First War worldwide, Or Again In THE Balkans, everywhere, THE troops German won victory on victory. Of more in more of people, y Understood has abroad, like in Britain Or to UNITED STATES, were beginning has lose trust And has believe that he no had In the world none strength able to stop this terrible machine.

Until This that THE victories of the Army red to doors of Moscow in 1941 begin has to break THE myth.

But the one who still sees today in the mass base of fascism, relatively stable And even long growing, a phenomenon linked to the nature of fascism, to peculiarities of her structure of power, commit

In saying that, I born want not of All minimize the importance of there structure of power And of the ideology fascist in the attachment of the masses to fascism. 52 But I opposes me has a exaggeration very widespread of their role and their meaning. In my opinion, the effectiveness of an ideology depends more on the willingness of the masses to adopt it than on the technical perfection of political marketing. This willingness of the masses to adopt an ideology increases or decreases depending on their living conditions. We know that periods of stability of the capitalist economy are favorable has there diffusion massive of reformist ideology, including among the petty bourgeoisie. Periods of crisis, on the other hand, make petty-bourgeois layers, and even certain layers of the proletariat, more receptive to fascist demagoguery.

Nothing born contributes more has there consolidation of a diet that THE success. This one East a lot more effective that the most refined ideological and organizational penetration And there more total of there Company. Conversely: without manifest and apparent results, or in the event of massive disillusionment, even the framing ideological And organizational _ of there Company THE more complete born can exercise A stabilizing effect. This observation is not contradicted by the fact that the majority of the German people followed the Nazis or did not find the strength to resist them, even after Stalingrad And until there defeat has Berlin.

We can only touch on the causes here. The fact that the German people knew in part, or even In her totality, This Who had summer inflicted, in his name, to other peoples, especially to the Soviet peoples And Polish, was more strong that there terror Or there propaganda

die-hard Nazis. What dominated, therefore, was the fear of revenge because it seemed unthinkable that the victors would not take revenge and repay us. reciprocate. When he became aware of possible defeat, THE people German was Already such involved in THE crimes fascists that there propaganda Nazi did not experience great difficulty in presenting the defeat as a END terrible, No only For THE criminals Nazis and their protectors, but For All THE people German. The integration effect, previously obtained by the dizzying successes, then functioned by the diffusion of the bad conscience of the accomplice of the crime for whom there would be no forgiveness. As long as the smallest glimmer of hope of escaping defeat remained, we thought we had to put All in artwork For avoid of turn it off definitely. So, there bad awareness And there fear have give birth has there faith miraculous In "tear Magic "of which there putting in artwork fast was going to, according to there direction Nazi, change THE course of the things.

He must add that none alternative born was offered to people German. None strength army did not confront THE Nazi power in the country, unlike Italy where the partisan movement existed.

These considerations highlight that by elevating German fascism as a criterion of what can be accused of fascism, we degrade the concept of fascism by passing from a generic concept to a concept valid for at most two particular historical situations, THE fascisms German And Italian.

There is another objection against the conception which seeks to reduce the concept of fascism to openly terrorist dictatorships which came to power with the help of a mass movement. It replaces, as a determining criterion , THE content of fascism – notably there dictatorship

terrorist of financial capital and large landowners - by one of the means of its establishment. It is true that fascist movements are distinguished from old reactionary movements by the desire to conquer the masses through unscrupulous social demagoguery. But we must not lose sight of the fact that the desire to conquer the masses does not guarantee success. The story of the movements fascists has proven that many times. Then conservative leaders like Hugenberg and fascist leaders agree on the objective final: the creation of a terrorist dictatorship with a view to the destruction of the workers' movement and the parliamentary system. The needs of the ruling classes, which gave birth to fascist movements, have been expressed clearly and clearly by theorists And of the politicians conservatives. There situation who has led has these needs has summer described in 1920 by the International Communist: "There bourgeoisie of world everyone remembers the days gone by with sadness. Foundations of the relationships policies interior And exterior parts are knocked over and shaken. The next day weighs like a threat black on THE world of the exploiters. [...] The haves concentrate all their forces on two questions: triumph In THE fight international And prevent the proletariat from seizing power in the country. [...] There threat East become THE alone argument of there bourgeoisie. She born believes not to words And required of the actions: that we stopped, that we forced out, that we confiscated, that we execute . [...] Lloyd George advises dryly to German ministers of shoot their communards, as there made France in 1871 ^{53.} "

At this time, the bourgeoisie continues to consider employment of the strengths armies regular as there way towards dictatorship. But the Manifesto of the International Com-

munist of 1920 notes All of even: "The device official state se transform of more in more in a organization of bloody oppression of workers. But at the same time se create of the organizations private counter-revolutionaries under the aegis of the State and acting on its orders. They break strikes, commit provocations, play informer, try to destroy revolutionary organizations, of disperse of the gatherings communists, organize of the pogroms, of the fires criminals _ And murder of the leaders revolutionaries 54.7 This is a description of the essential characteristics of the emerging fascist organizations at this time. Let's notice than to the time we born understood not though these organizations born opposed not only to workers revolutionaries, but Also has there bourgeois democracy. He was impossible of to expect has This moment that they were going to become extremely dangerous mass organizations. However, the International described very precisely the reservoir in which fascism drew his executives THE more assets: "THE son of the large landowners land And of the big bourgeois, THE disoriented petty bourgeois and all elements downgraded, among which he must to quote in first place THE noble emigrants And bourgeois Russian, constituted THE inexhaustible reservoir For THE sections of volunteers of there counter-revolution. HAS their head se find THE body of the officers from the school of imperialist war. Around 20 000 officers of career of the army of the Hohenzollern since the Kapp-Luttwitz putsch have formed the solid core of the counter-revolution, And there democracy German East unable to dissolve it. [...] Free corps installed on the lands of Prussian landowners complete this organization centralized of terrorists of the old diet 55. "

This potting soil product a organization of mass fascist only there and at the moment when the bourgeoisie feels the need very urgent of to spill there democracy bourgeois and there And At moment Or A cut state military, there normal path towards dictatorship, proves impracticable. Fascist mass organization is a new means of achieving an objective, existing before and independently of it. She would not have even not could see THE day if there class dominant had not not for follow-up this objective.

It goes without saying that this new means influences to a certain extent measure there shape that takes there dictatorship which he helps to put in place. It gives it specific traits. But these specificities do not make it a different genre, but only a different type in the same genre that we call dictatorship fascist.

There struggle against a dictatorship of a left fascist born does not require a strategy different of there struggle against a military fascist dictatorship. Whether the fascist regime has a broad or narrow mass base, the struggle for the overthrow of this dictatorship always requires, and in all cases, a strategy aimed at uniting, organizing and coordinating all strengths anti-fascists. THE core of This forehead United East always the unity of action of the working class, close contact with the masses, the judicious use of all legal possibilities and the combination of legal methods of struggle And illegal. There struggle unitary of all THE antifascists is always the most important condition for the success of a strategy anti-fascist. There Or THE prejudices anti-communists prevent its achievement, defeat is inevitable. We will be able to TO DO All This that we can For hold taking into account the psychology of the masses, nothing will help. Those who, like of Wilhelm Reich and his followers 56 , follow a strategy Who privileged there psychology of mass At detriment _ of there struggle policy, forget that there arrangement

psychological of the masses East in first place determined by THE results of there struggle policy. The image of there invincible strength that THE fascism acquires with of the masses petty -bourgeois is only the other side of the coin of division of the strengths anti-fascists. For to change there psychological disposition of the masses who run behind fascism, we must above all fight to change the relationship of strengths in favor of anti-fascism, in favor of unification _ of all THE strengths anti-fascists.

He must se remind Also of the arguments of Tolyatti which explains that THE character "totalitarian » of fascism Italian does not first find its origin in the fascist party but in the Italian monopoly bourgeoisie. At the question: "What should fascism do??", he gave an answer which really goes to the essence of the phenomenon: "He ... not can TO DO otherwise what to execute THE orders of his master, there bourgeoisie ^{57.}" He continued: "So is born the totalitarian state fascist. THE fascism is not not born totalitarian, he is became At moment Or THE circles leaders of the bourgeoisie have reached THE degree THE more high of economic unification And policy. Even the idea of totalitarianism is not issue of the ideology fascist. He must see THE totalitarianism like there reflection of change Who East occurred And of the domination of capital financial [...] There bourgeoisie change his designs, THE fascism East obliged to adapt THE his! 58 » This thesis of Tolyatti can We be very useful to understand THE specificities of there variant of fascism from Europe of ballast Or of South East. This variant East born circumstances _ specific of states At capitalism little developed, dependent of the large powers, In THE terms of there crisis general of capitalism, At moment Or the order bourgeois was submitted has of strong pressures. financial capital y was has penalty constituted. He did not have of the during not

acquired there strength Who him would have permit of solve THE contradictions _ of interest between THE different groups And fractions of the bourgeoisie within the framework of a single party. That is why interest of class common Who consisted has keep under control there class factory Girl And has destroy her avantgarde revolutionary, born could speak out has through the system of left unique, but only has through there person _ of dictator, has through THE worship of chief leader and savior of there country, No related by THE decisions of a parliament or government, but with absolute power. THE multipartyism has persisted In these dictatorships because it was THE reflection of there struggle of influence between THE great powers or the orientation of the different fractions of there class dominant by report to large powers. There position economic And policy very solid of nobility _ And of the big owners land has also been the consequence of weak capitalist development in these dictatorships. THE representatives of these classes occupied _ of the positions keys In the army And In administration. THE fascism At power n / A not served only to defend by of the means terrorists the order capitalist, but he has Also perpetuated there structure agrarian Who was a hindrance to development. This is why, in these countries, the fascism n / A not could play THE role of engine of a development _ capitalist strength, born holding account of the interests of landowners only to the extent that they do not enter not in contradiction with those of capital financial. 59

THE fascism East arrived At power by A cut of state, before there was a mass fascist party. He could therefore not rely on a fascist mass movement. This situation forced him to look for other support in THE masses And more particularly In there working class. He THE has found with of the wing there more has RIGHT,

there more viscerally anti-communist of there social democracy and unions. They sold themselves to fascism for a plate of lentils, for the recognition of existence legal of their organizations. "In certain countries, said Dimitrov in his speech at the VIIth Congress of the Communist International, mainly where fascism n / A not a wide base In THE masses And Or the struggle of the different fractions of there bourgeoisie East strong enough, THE fascism born succeeds not of first cut has liquidate THE Parliament And leave alone to others gone bourgeois, including social democracy, a certain legality 60." THE diets fascists in Bulgaria And in Hungary, as _ THE diet of Pilsudski in Poland more late, were forced to legalize non-reformist workers' parties. But these breakthroughs, obtained grace At reinforcement _of there struggle antifascist 61 don't have not successful At reversal _of diet fascist. In these circumstances, has these periods of liberalization related succeeded of the phases of reinforcement of there terror aiming has destroy the avant- garde factory Girl. These periods of hindsight of fascism se revealed _SO be a sort of maneuver of which Dimitrov said to the 7th Congress that it is entirely possible that "fascism can, At moment of a aggravation particular of her situation, to attempt to expand her base, without to change Character of class And combine there dictatorship terrorist open with a gross falsification of parliamentarism 62".

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212 Hitler, the irresistible ascension?

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- Longo, L., die international Brigaden in Spanish, Berlin, 1958, pp. 201 And sq.
- 51. According to Dimitrov, In her exposed during of VIIth Congress global of the Communist International (Selected Works); see also: Geschichte des zweiten Weltkrieges 1939 - 1945, vol. 1, p. 129.
- 52. HAS about of the importance of the ideology fascist, see : Togliatti, Lektionen,
- 53. Manifest of second Congress of the International Communist, in: " Manifestos, theses And resolutions of the four first Congress of the International communist 1919-1923 " (Library Communist, June 1934), reprint in facsimile, François Maspério, 1972, p. 76.
- 54. Same.
- 55. Same
- 56. See Kuhnl, R., Fascismustheorieen, p. 110 And sq.
- 57. Togliatti, Lektionen, p. 27.
- 58. Ibidem, p.30. THE concept of totalitarianism at the house of Tolyatti n / A obviously Nothing has see with the one what do they use THE theoreticians of totalitarianism Today. These define it as a situation of domination total on all of there company, on all THE classes And all THE layers, has leave of a center of power, THE government party all powerful Or even A man All alone. At the house of Togliatti, it is about the exclusivity to the legal existence of the fascist party in power.
- Gossweiler, Kurt, Alfred Schlicht, Junker und NSDAP 1931/32, in: ZfG, 4/1967, pp 644-662; see also: Gossweiler, Kurt, Aufsätze zum Faschismus, Pahl-Rugenstein, 1988, part 1, p. 230; Gossweiler, Kurt, Junkertum und Faschismus, in: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humbold-Universität zu Berlin, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, XXII (1973), 1/2, pp 19-26; see also: Gossweiler, Kurt, Aufsätze zum Faschismus, Pahl-Rugenstein, 1988, part I, p. 260.

- 60. Dimitrov, G., Works Chosen , tome I, p.595.
- 61. Kalbe, Uber die fascist Dictator, p. 753 And sq.(for there Bulgaria).
- 62. Dimitrov, G., op. cit., p.596.

And... Today?

Chapter 6

There policy of the Nazis in the Balkans through there " European Review » * The expansion has the East, yesterday

There "Review European" (European Review) East a review today unknown of there mostly of the people. Yet, she has No only commented there policy foreign imperialist of Germany for almost two decades (1925-1944), but it also helped to shape has this policy. From 1925, there review was the organ of Verband für cultural Zusammenarbeit, the organization created in 1921 has Vienna by Carl Anton Prinz Rohan And called _ European Kulturbund, in abbreviated Kulturbund, After its merger in 1924 with there Federation of French Intellectual Unions. 1 HAS there meeting of foundation has Paris, Rohan has summer

^{*} Contribution presented during of there Conference international For historians has Sofia (April 21-26, 1971) around the theme: "The great powers and the countries of Balkans has there day before And At beginning of there Second War worldwide published In Studio Balcania 7, Sofia, 1973, p. 329-337.

elected secretary general of this European union. There was especially of the sections of The union In THE country neighbors of Germany And of Austria, in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Swiss, Poland...

It is surely no coincidence that the creation of the Europäische Kulturbund has coincided with THE passage from Germany to the Locarno policy, since this passage clearly put forward the new tactics of German imperialism. This tactic consisted camouflaging THE revisionism, there will of revenge And tendencies hegemonic of there policy German behind appearances European". The founders association And of there review se stared SO For objective of finding among the ruling elites and the intelligentsia of European states supporters ready to get started, under THE covered of there struggle For a new Europe, In there fight against the Versailles system and for a "large space » European under the leadership of German imperialism, and clearly anti-communist and anti-Soviet.

In 1934, Rohan, Who was also the editor of the European _ Revue, formulated the objective pursued by him and his supporters In A article titled: "There Paneurope And Us 2 ". In a style using the paraphrases and euphemisms of circumstance, he writing: "Those who did not want to accept the order defined in 1919 and who believed neither in liberal democracy nor in its rationalist methods hold firmly has there revision of the agreements of peace And want a Europe young And dynamic, attached has there peace and has legality of the rights, but also reorganized and determined to heroically mobilize all forces. They born want not a Europe Who give up At world, but on the contrary a Europe that fights for the world. [They believe] that peace in Europe can only be guaranteed by a reorganization territorial. They reject THE pacifism in reason of her cowardice [...] The other Europe acts, under there direction of national socialism And of fascism³.

"This The plea for a new fascist order was expressed in 1934 but, even before 1933, Rohan did not hide her sympathy For THE fascism Italian. He claimed that the European Review should be a living guide to the future of Europe For the German public 4". The peoples se would be found in front THE choice of disappear Or " to accept their fate difficult And of liquidate the old world For THE replace by a new 5 ". He explicitly described Italian fascism as a precursor of This "new world": "This that We appreciate above all, it is this renewal from within and this mobilization of the deepest vital feelings of the Italian nation set in motion by fascism. This is the great movement of there new generation, he is of there first step, which rejects the current decline of Europe and wants to push it towards a constructive future 6. "

Despite this attitude profascist, THE methods proposed _ In the European Review For there revision of system of Versailles were particularly flexible. Being Since the magazine was not aimed at the masses, it did not set itself the goal of triggering collective nationalist hysteria . Instead, it addressed intellectuals from neighboring countries, academics, politicians and economists, and tried to convince them of the idea that Germany's neighboring countries would improve their political situation And economic if they se detached of there sphere of influence and placed Franco-British themselves under the direction of Germany. Rohan also respected the advice of Stresemann, according to which he born had to not threaten with one's sword until one was able to take up arms. THE 'return to the German nation of Austria", there first stage of program of reconquest of the Al-

lemagne according to Rohan, should be done with Europe, and not in opposition to it. 7 All these elements indicate that the European Review served of spokesperson has these groups _ of there bourgeoisie imperialist German Who attempted to put into practice the completely unrealistic project of world domination in a supposedly realistic way. This means that they took existing power relations into account and moved forward step by step. This also explains why Richard von Kühlmann and Wilhelm Solf belonged to the Rohan circle. These two former ministers of the Business foreign of time of the emperor had committed themselves during their mandate to a more flexible policy and had for this reason been counter-squared by THE Alldeutsche Verband And his sympathizers. Like many other important personalities of sectors policy And economic, Solf was member of the Europäische Review and later even president of its advisory commission. As Kühlmann, he was president of Deutsche Kulturbund, there section German _ the European Kulturbund.

Tactical flexibility and the importance given to objectives "Europeans » of the European Review can be explained by the fact that the magazine was one of the many communication tools of IG-Farben, THE giant of industry German , there strength dominant At breast of there fraction there most dynamic of the German imperialist bourgeoisie since the mid-twenties. Rohan, the man of many facets, was indeed not only a politician And journalist, but also advise in agronomy from IG-Farben. 8 As part of his duties, he participated has the development of the plans of IG-Farben to adapt the agricultural sector of the Balkan countries to the needs of Germany. These plans have always been presented advantageously In the European Review. In

1934, the magazine launched a real campaign aimed at to replace imports of raw materials from overseas by of the products in from the Balkans and to strengthen economic ties between these countries And Germany. In A article of April 1934 titled

"There struggle For THE territories around of Danube", Rohan writes this: "The Empire German is holding firmly THE reins. When THE program of replacement of the overseas imports by imports from Southeast Europe will be put in place And that THE sector agricultural of this region will partially orient itself towards the German market, the influence political-economic of Germany In THE bordering country THE Danube will reach A level such that THE maneuvers _ tactics of these latest weeks will pass perhaps one day for simple sleight of hand." It's about here of the efforts led mostly by Italy for acquire a position dominant In THE Balkans. In THE number of July 1934, Rudolph Freiherr von Brandenstein writing him Also A article titled "There new German trade policy and its consequences for there Bulgaria 9", In which he defends THE replacement _ of the imports overseas by of the imports into origin of South East of Europe 10. In A article from the same issue entitled "Economic collaboration between Germany And THE South East 11", Max Hahn, general secretary of Mitteleuropäischer Wirtschaftstag (MWT), THE Economic advice from Europe central, calls as to has him of wishes a set of measures for direct and very close economic collaboration. Only Germany could absorb enough of products agricultural death _ country. THE crops has practice should be decided in consultation with Germany. In besides, This spokesperson for monopolists German considered industrialized it tion of the country of the Balkans as a "absurdity". 12

A other element demonstrating THE connections narrow between the journal and IG-Farben is the long-term collaboration at the *Europäische Review* of Anton Reithinger, active within the department economic of the company And Next director of this same department.

All that has could contribute At moving of central Bureau of the European Review has Frankfurt on THE Main, where the head office of IG-Farben was also located. All as imperialism German expansionist, the European Review had also of the aimed global. But their first objective was Europe of South East: Austria, Hungary and the Balkans. According to Rohan, a policy supposed express there will of people "had to do of the axis Berlin - Vienna there rock angular of his activities. HAS leave of this axis, he had to to attempt to integrate so official And unofficial In THE vast frame of this policy, all THE ambitions policies present in the areas of implantation German, Or that they se find, and from TO DO a strength homogeneous 13.7 He demanded openly For Germany THE role of leader in "Europe central". In so much that Cultural Volk (nation of culture superior) manager in Europe central, THE Germans "were first responsible for this part of Europe, which had to be considered territory below jurisdiction policy German 14." Rohan defended there need of a "restructuring" of this space with THE words following: "In Europe central of twentieth century, a structure In which THE States and THE peoples THE more small can also se develop _ is not possible that if all, Germans And others nationalities, se submit has A order superior supranational created collectively 15. "There review of Rohan mastered better than all other art of TO DO pass THE program of conquest _of imperialism German For A program full of benefits, y Understood For THE small peoples of Europe.

THE efforts of imperialism German For dominate the Balkans are part of a long tradition. However, the domination of South-Eastern Europe was only a first stage towards there domination of all Europe, which in turn was only to be a step towards world hegemony.

Between 1933 And 1937, Germany fascist has defeated Or deleted _ with success THE obstacles has expansion of German influence In THE country of the Balkans 16. Germany has been able to acquire a position dominant In THE foreign trade of the Balkan countries. Political influence of there France on THE country of there Small Agreement had noticeably decreases And we was trying of more in more to create A link between THE country Who were sailing Already In the wake of the powers of the Axis favorable has a revision of treated of Paris, And THE country of there Small Agreement And of the pact of the Balkans. THE first results concrete of these attempts were THE treaty of friendship Yugoslav-Bulgarian of January 1937 And THE contacts between there Yugoslavia And Italy, who concluded an agreement in March of the same year. 17 Germany fascist had to these success has of the factors as economic that policies. Because what se proclaimed the vanguard of the front against the Soviet Union and did of eradication of Communism in Europe its priority mission, it exerted an enormous force of attraction on reactionary and fascist governments of the country of the Balkans. Germany mattered mostly of the Balkans THE products agricultural necessary for preparations of war. This doing, She became THE main partner commercial of these country And THE returned more and more dependent on herself. 18 But this does not completely explain why Hitler was able to achieve a position such dominant In THE Balkans. One of the decisive factors was the attitude of the Western powers.

dental. In THE frame of their strategy aiming has divert towards ballast expansionism German, has to leave Hitler's Germany liquidates the Soviet Union and exhausts Germany In there war against The union Soviet, they left the way open to fascist Germany in the East of Europe. HAS Berlin, we knew this strategy on THE end of the fingers And we in has benefited of manner optimal to achieve its own objectives. The European Review loved publishing French and English voices pleading for us not to put obstacles in the way of expansion German has ballast. So, THE September 1938 issue cites an interview with Pierre-Étienne Flandin dating of July of the same year: "What _ would be more dangerous for France: that Germany increases its involvement in Central and Eastern Europe or what extends on there planet whole, And specifically on the Mediterranean, and that it attempts to deprive France or England of part of their empire? 19 »

Thanks to this attitude of the Western powers, Germany Nazi could leave of principle what could pass without opposition of a policy from infiltration to real annexations. Unlike in 1934, it no longer had to fear Italian troop movements at the Brenner Pass to defend the "Austrian independence. In the meantime, Mussolini no longer needed the support of Germany that Germany Hitler 's support of Italy. Annexation of Austria was going to bring closer strongly Germany from its objective: hegemony total on THE Balkans.

THE passage of there phase preparatory of expansion of imperialism fascist German has that of there putting in practice solitaire was announced at the end of 1937 – early 1938 by a change of staff At summit of there Nazi hierarchy . There revocation of Hjalmar Schacht, THE *trustee* of

At spring 1938, SO that the attack against Austria was imminent, the leadership of the Europäische Review also undergoes A change important. Rohan, THE prince of IG- Farben, had Already guits her job of editor has there mid -1936 20. But, Joachim Moras, who had been editor under Rohan for many years, continued, after 1936, has direct there review according to there line defined by This last. Rohan was always quoted as founder has there front page and, until March 1938, foreign policy coverage was assured by Wilhelm Grewe. 21 However, the number of March announced the introduction of a new section, " Policy And right ", In which THE Professor Freiherr von Freytagh-Loringhoven, expert in international law, would address foreign policy events. In THE even movement, there review Völkerbund und Völkerrecht, which he had headed until then, merged with the Europäische Revue.

Of the there first contribution of Freytagh-Loringhoven in the April 1938 issue, and even more in the following articles, the function of the new section "Politics and right » appeared clearly: She celebrated regularly, with A cynicism that even Hitler And Goebbels born could surpass the fascist attacks against the peoples of Europe as a " restoration of order » And a

"guarantee For there peace". Freytagh-Loringhoven transformed injustice and breaches of contract into justice, and treated the defense of the independence of peoples in the face of fascist aggression as preparations for war and of the actions of violence. However, these arguments were not expressed in the ordinary language of the *Angriff* of Goebbels, but with THE vocabulary of a expert in the law of peoples whose mission was to support and justify "scientifically there policy fascist based on the violence. For This TO DO, Freytagh-Loringhoven, member of the Prussian State Council, the Reichstag, the Academy of German Law and the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague, was the ideal man.

There merger has This moment accurate between there review of Freytagh-Loringhoven and the Europäische Review reveals another element important. Below there Republic of Weimar, Freytagh-Loringhoven was a leading representative of the wing RIGHT, led by Hugenberg, of Deutsch- nationale Volkspartei, which defended the interests of the reactionary magnates of the Ruhr and the Junkers of the regions east of the Elbe. This wing of the German monopolistic bourgeoisie had been involved in a sometimes intense struggle with another wing which could count on THE support of the capitalists of sector of there chemistry to which belonged Rohan And her review.

But these two groups have always agreed on one point: imperialism German had to dominate central Europe as first stage towards there domination of the world. This unit of views its notably expressed in the frame of there collaboration At breast of MWT. ²² The objective being of put not has not THE plans of MWT in practical, a narrow collaboration se developed between THE two groups. There merger of the *European Review* with there review of Freytagh- Loringhovens was A sign visible of this collaboration.

THE themes main addressed by the European Review in THE years 1938-1939 were obviously the aggression against Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, as well as the consequences of this aggression for the Balkan countries.

The specific role of the magazine was to start propaganda very early in favor of the next aggression. So, before the Anschluss of Austria has become reality, the Europäische Review published Already a series of articles dedicated _ At " Treatment of there question of the Germans Sudetenland during the Paris conference" 23 (March 1938 edition), taking Already in line of sight there next victim, Czechoslovakia . In THE even number, Wilhelm Grewe gave importance to the information that THE "leader Slovak » Hlinka would have announced that a Slovak delegation would bring back from the United States June 1938 the original of the Agreement of Pittsburgh in which Masaryk allegedly promised autonomy to the Slovaks. Hlinka would have desired to transmit This document has Prague. With a façade of naivety and in a threatening tone, Grewe commented this "information »: « He East outstanding noted that THE two main nationalities of the multinational Czechoslovak state contests the foundations of diet in force in Czechoslovakia And se to do this are based on fundamental documents dating from there period of founding of the state something that leaves you thinking 24."

There was already talk of the attack on Poland in the Europäische Review At beginning of 1939, Before even that the rest of the Czechoslovakia is destroyed. Also in this case, the objectives of aggression were hidden behind of the information common, apparently completely _ harmless. Freytagh-Loringhoven reported as well as Germany and Czechoslovakia would have concluded

an agreement involving the construction of an expressway Breslau has Vienna via Brno, of which 70 kilometers would pass through Czechoslovak territory. Additional element : " This agreement accompanied of impressive legal and economic section passing through the conditions. Thus, Czechoslovak territory would benefit of Status extraterritoriality And born would be not subject to the Czechoslovak toll regime. Perhaps it will even be possible in the not too distant future to apply the ideas has there base of this breakthrough In others areas just as important For Germany 25."

THE arguments used by Freytagh-Loringhoven For justifying the violence of fascist Germany are very illuminating and remain relevant today. They are nothing other than an updated version of the principles of German imperialist foreign policy that Stresemann had already developed in his famous secret speeches. ²⁶

According to Freytagh-Loringhoven, annexation of there Bohemian and of there Moravia in March 1939 was not in no way contrary to the Munich agreements, but should instead be considered as an act of generous assistance on the part of Germany. THE agreements of Munich born would mention nothing go has what kind bonds Germany should se hold. "We could All At more pretend, if we want go until there, that Germany its engaged tacitly _(!) has born more claim of territories in Czechoslovakia on the basis of the right to selfdetermination of the Sudeten Germans ²⁷ [...] As we know, military measures or others don't have not summer required being given that there Czech Republic returned voluntarily And asked even there protection of Germany. Of this manner, the entrance of the German troops se fit with approval of the authorities Czechs 28." The argument of "right of there mother country has protect the minorities national alive below domination foreign»

played A role particularly important In there legitimation of the assaults of Germany fascist. Freytagh-Loringhoven justified even the attack against there Poland thanks to of this argument. For This TO DO, he put has new to base on THE principles developed In This aim At ministry of Business foreign below there direction of Stresemann. Already has the time, Germany wanted to be recognized as power protective of the minorities German in Europe. 29 In June 1938, Freytagh-Loringhoven described there position of England in the face of German demands placed on Czechoslovakia as " a beginning of recognition of the right of nation states to protect their compatriots alive below domination foreign 30". After the invasion of there Poland, he tried of prove that This right had in the meantime become an integral part of the rights of peoples in reason of there participation of the powers Western _ to agreements of Munich. "If THE powers Western born wanted not to qualify This treaty of act purely arbitrary, they had to base it on Germany's right of protection. In this way, a procedure involving the four great powers and three other states officially recognized the right to protect the mother countries and made it an integral part of the right of the peoples 31. " This argument underlines the necessity to demand Again Today firmly of government _ of there Republic Federal German that he immediately denounces the Munich agreements as being opposite At right of the peoples. There need of this action East justified also by THE word of thanks sent has Hitler by Werner Hasselblatt, delegated administrator permanent of Verband der German Volksgruppen in Europe, In which he said between others: "He does not exist only one German people, and there was already only one when THE country of the Sudetenland And the Ostmark were Again officially separated of Reich. HAS This even people German minorities also belong – more than seven million compatriots in total – integrated into more of ten States No German ^{32.}"

With there thesis of "right of protection", This kind of These statements were also a clear warning to all European countries hosting German population groups, especially the Balkan countries. The fate reserved for Czechoslovakia by German imperialism could hang over the heads of all these states At moment Or, as THE said Hasselblatt citing _ THE newspaper of a German minority, the German project manager is working on planning and organizing the reconstruction of the territories scattered around of Danube ^{33.}"

The anti-Soviet attitude of the reactionary governments of the countries of South-Eastern Europe made it impossible for these countries to choose the only possible alternative. and to invest in putting it into practice, namely a system of collective security in Europe alongside the Soviet Union.

- 2. "Paneuropa and wir»
- 3. European Review (hereinafter: ER), January 1934, p. 49f.
- 4. ER, august 1930, p. 707.
- 5. ER, FEBRUARY 1926, p. 121.
- 6. Same
- 7. ER, august 1929, p. 375.
- 8. Sasuly, Richard, IG-Farben, Berlin, 1952, p. 337.
- 9. "die new German Handelspolitik und ihre Folgerungen for Bulgarian»
- 10. ER, July 1934, p. 507f.
- II. "Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit Germany put dem South»
- 12. Ibidem, p. 487ff.
- 13. ER, august 1929, p. 366.
- 14. Ibidem, p. 369.
- 15. Ibidem, p. 372.
- 16. See also Radandt, Hans, Die IG-Farbenindustrie AG und Südosteuropa bis 1938, in: Jahrbuch for Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1966, part III, p. 146ff.; Radandt, Hans, Berichte der Volkswirtschaftlichen Abteilung der IG Farbenindustrie AG über Südosteuropa , in: Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1966, part IV, p. 289ff.; Radandt, Hans, die Gl Farbenindustrie AG and Sudosteuropa 1938 bis zum Ende of the Zweiten Weltkrieges, in: Jahrbuch for Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1967, part I, p. 77ff.; Wlachoff, Tusche, Die politische und wirtschaftliche Orientierung Bulgarians auf das imperialistische Germany, in: Der German Imperialism and der zweite Weltkrieg , volume 2, Berlin, 1961, p. 521ff.; Treue, Wilhelm, Das Dritt Reich and die Westmächte auf dem Balkan, in: Vierteljahreshefte for Zeitgeschichte, Stuttgart, 1/1953, p. 45ff.
- 17. ER, January 1938, p. 60; october 1938, p. 822.
- 18. See Radandt, in: Jahrbuch for Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1966, part III.
- 19. ER, July 1938, p. 734. He no has SO not there lesser reason to be surprised like Wilhelm Treue as to has there alleged inability of there Britain has put one term has the progress German In THE Balkans (Tree, 1953, p. 51).
- 20. After Rohan left the ER, he was active in South East European countries like intermediate between THE leaders Nazis And the church Catholic. After the annexation of Austria, he served as president and director until 1945. of Vienna Hotel AG After there war, he remained in Austria And supported there revengeful ${\it Sudetendeutsche\ Landsmannschaft\ .}$
- 21. See about Wilhelm Grewe (who was part of the diplomatic service and headed between 1953 and 1955 first the legal department then the political department of ministry of the Business foreign has Bonn), Braunbuch. Kriegs- and Naziverbrecher in der Bundesrepublik, Berlin, 1965, p. 259f.
- 22. About the Mitteleuropäischer Wirtschaftstag , see Radandt, in: Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1966, part III; see also Sohn-Rethel, Alfred, die political Offices der German Big industry, in: Blick in die World, 15/1948.
- 23. "die Handling der sudetendeutschen Fragment auf der Pariser Friendenskonferenz»
- 24. ER, March 1938, p. 233.
- 25. ER, January 1939, p. 10. He it was of "Corridor Polish".
- 26. See Ruge, Wolfgang, Alte Rezepte der Revengepolitik. Zur West German Veröffentlichung einer Rede Stresemanns aus dem Jahre 1925 , in : Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft , 4/1968, p. 462ff.

- 27. ER, april 1939, p. 315. In THE number of October 1938, Werner Freiherr von Rheinbaben, Stresemann's trusted man for many years, had also, No without pathosity, do there statement next: "In her speech of 26 september, THE Fuhrer has answered of there manner there more clear possible has there question fundamental relative has there limitation of there dynamic German. Any form of discussion with those who still doubt these statements solemn is therefore superfluous and resembles a waste of time.» (ER, October 1938, p. 849). In his wellknown speech of September 26, 1938, Hitler had declared that after the settlement of the Sudeten question, Germany would no longer to be worth others demands territorial in Europe. THE role plays by Rheinbaben and its justification of fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia underlines the continuity of Germany's foreign policy from Stresemann to Hitler- Ribbentrop. In THE number of March 1939, We read the extract following of a speech given by Rheinbaben in Lyon on February 9, 1939: "Regarding the existence of the so-called German "dynamism", I would like to take up a $\,$ quote recent of marshal Goering: "OUR generation East born For THE fight. She must se beat For to guarantee THE terms of existence of the generations future." »And Rheinbaben adds to this quote: "It is thanks to this state of mind that the Treaty of Versailles no longer has the slightest meaning for (ER, ibid., p. 249).
- 28. ER, april 1939, p. 315.
- 29. Ruge, 1968, p. 469.
- 30. ER, June 1938, p. 445.
- 31. ER, october 1939, p. 273.
- 32. ER, may 1939, p. 425.
- 33. *Ibidem* , p. 427.

Lexicon

AGREEMENTS OF LOCARNO. In october 1925, a conference around of the questions of security European se is holding in Locarno (Swiss). Germany y East represented by the chancellor Hans Luther And THE minister of the Business foreigners _ Gustav Stresemann. With their counterparts Italian, French, British, Belgians, Polish And Czechoslovaks, they concluded the agreements defining the foundations of a system of security and peace in Europe. Germany, France and Belgium renounce any modification of their borders carried out by violent means. The German state officially recognizes its western borders as established by the Treaty of Versailles, as well as THE Status demilitarized of there Rhineland. In case of violation of the treaty, Great Britain and Italy are supposed to intervene as guarantor powers in order to come in help At country wronged. "Locarno » allows the republic of Weimar of to break her isolation on THE plan international . During of there conference, accession of Germany to the League of Nations is agreed, but it is not possible to achieve recognition of the border German-Polish, Germany se expressly reserving the possibility of reshaping the course of its border eastern.

AGREEMENTS OF PITTSBURGH. THE 30 may 1918, little of time before the collapse of Austria-Hungary, of the representatives of Slovak and Czech organizations meet has Pittsburgh (USA) And se put All right For found a new common state. The independent republic of Czechoslovakia will be proclaimed has Prague THE 28 october 1918.

ADGB. "Allgemeiner German Gewerkschaftsbund », since July 1919 the coordinating organization of German trade unions (52 in number in 1919).

ALLDEUTSCHER VERBAND. We called "Alldeutschers " (Pangermanists) supporters of a political movement Who associated there claim of reinforcement of consciousness German nationality with objectives "popular" and imperialist. After 1918, under the presidency of Heinrich class, L'" Alldeutscher Verband "fit of the agitation against the Weimar Republic, demanded the founding of a "dictatorship national" and, in the company of a strongly anti-Semitic association, the repression of "foreign ethnic groups".

DER ANGRIFF (The attack). THE newspaper of propaganda of the NSDAP appeared has leave of 4 July 1927, has reason of two deliveries weekly Before of se molt in daily from october 1930.

ANSCHLUSS. On March 12, 1938, Hitler's troops entered Austria without encountering resistance. Austria East annexed has the Empire German.

BRAUN (OTTO). Otto Braun (SPD) was between 1920 And 1932 Minister-President of the State of Prussia. During this long period, there Prussia constituted mon of the pillars THE more

reliable of there Republic of Weimar, nicknamed also the "bastion democratic » by THE people of the time. THE July 20 1932, THE " Preussenschlag » (cut state of Prussia) of von Papen puts A term At third office of Braun.

BODY FRANCS (Freikorps). Groups of volunteers made up of former monarchist and right-wing soldiers of the First War worldwide. THE 120 body francs counted for something 400000 members And defended Above all points _ of view anti-revolutionaries And undemocratic.

DIMITROV (George). Dimitrov (1882-1949) played an important role in 1919 in the founding of trade unions and the Communist Party of Bulgaria. From 1921, he represented his party within the Communist International (Comintern). In September 1923, he led an uprising popular against THE diet by A. Zankov in Bulgaria. After failure of the insurrection, THE PCB was declared illegal. Dimitrov was sentenced two times has dead but put escape _ And se refugee in Germany, Or he was elected in 1929 as head of the Central European section of the Comintern. GOOD known East there defense of Dimitrov during of simulacrum of trial brought against him by THE Nazis, Who had it accused of burning the Reichstag in Berlin on February 27, 1933.

EISERNE FOREHEAD (forehead of iron). He was born in December 1931 and was designed in so much that forehead powerful against THE forces of RIGHT. Y collaborated: the Reichsbanner, the ADGB and the SPD, without however arrive has constitute THE forehead United wish. The organization's emblem consisted of the three arrows of there freedom, symbolizing THE three opponents: THE national socialists, communists and the conservative nobility. During of cut state of von Papen in Prussia, THE forehead of iron didn't have not of answer adapted. A year more late, After

there socket of power by THE national socialists, the banning of the Reichsbanner and the unions also sealed the spell of forehead of iron.

FLANDIN (Pierre-Étienne) (1889-1958). From November 8, 1934 At 31 may 1935, Flandin was, in France, president advice, Then, below Albert Sarraut, minister of the Foreign Affairs (January 24 – May 30, 1936). Within the Vichy government, he would again be called upon to fulfill these latest functions (13 December 1940 – 9 February 1941), however then trying to join the allies by Africa of North. He failed in reason of her captured by the Free French Forces » (FFL).

GLEICHEN-RUSSWURM (Heinrich von -) . In 1918, in company _ of a few luminaries conservative, he founded the "Association of solidarity national And social ", Who proposed a new policy, independent of parties, with A wide support social And below there direction dictatorship of a single figure of power. Among the members of the very elitist Deutsche Herrenklub" – this is what the association would be called from 1924 – included, among others, Heinrich Brüning, Wilhelm von Gayl and Franz von Papen. In 1944, the "Herrenklub" was dissolved.

HINDENBURG (Paul von Beneckendorff and von -) (1847-1934). Hindenburg had a career in the army between 1870 and 1911. In 1914, he returned to service and rose to the highest rank. pupil. After there war, he se removed of there life political and military but was once again brought to the forefront by the right-wing parties as a presidential candidate . of there Republic of Weimar. Of 1925 has her dead, it's here function that he fill. Afterwards, Hitler, that Hindenburg had helped to come to power in 1933, regaining the title of "chief of the state".

HLINKA (Andrej) (1864-1938). Slovak priest and figure bow of the nationalists Slovak, he left THE Christian Democratic People's Party (Hungarian) when it accepted there "magyarization » of there Slovakia, such that it was propagated by the Hungarian state, of which Slovakia was a part has the time. During of there creation of there Czechoslovakia, in 1918, Hlinka became member of Advice national Slovak, but he quickly distanced himself from the ideology of a unified Czechoslovak nation. He became president of the People's Party Slovak, Who claimed a autonomy much more real for Slovakia. Hlinka's ideology was characterized by nationalism, clericalism, anti-communism and Semitism. At the end of his life, he searched has se bring closer of fascism.

HUGENBERG (Alfred) (1865-1951). In 1891, together with Carl Peters, he fonda the "Allgemeiner German Verband" (" Alldeutscher Verband" from 1894), which advocated as goals there promotion of there awareness national , there protection of there presence German has abroad and an active foreign policy of the Empire. Between 1916 and 1920, he set up the "Hugenberg-Konzern", which included a House editing, of the agencies of press, advertising agencies, mail order services, film companies, and which also had significant interests in newspapers. In the early 1920s, it was mainly through his press agencies that Hugenberg exercised a preponderant influence on the right-wing press. In 1918, he became a member. then. in 1928. president Deutschnationale Volkspartei (DNVP - German National People's Party), which he represented At parliament of the 1919. Of even, After there dissolution _ of DNVP, in June 1933, he stay member of Reichstag in so much as a guest of NSDAP. In 1933, In THE office

Hitler, he became Minister of Economy, Agriculture and Food Supply. In the meantime, he had also become a supporter of limiting Hitler's powers.

KAPP-LÜTTWITZ (the putsch of -) (1920). The Treaty of Versailles stipulated a reduction in the number of professional soldiers to 100,000 and the dissolution of the Freikorps, made up of volunteers. Frustrated, Freikorps officers responded by founding extreme conspiratorial organizations. RIGHT as there "National Vereinigung ". When, in FEBRUARY 1920, THE minister of there Reichswehr, Gustav Noske, decided to dissolve the Marine Brigade of Hermann Ehrhardt and the Freikorps Loewenfeld, General von Lüttwitz, commander of the same Marine Brigade, occupied the government quarters on March 13 of Berlin And named the officer of the body francs Wolfgang Kapp as Reich Chancellor. The putsch was short-lived end of four days. In effect, THE government born did not follow THE orders of Kapp And a strike general paralyzed there public life. But when THE strengths of LEFT of Saxony, Thuringia and of the Ruhr transformed the strike into a revolt, the government _ committed to against they the army And THE body francs... LUDENDORFF (Erich) (1865-1935). Original noble, he followed a training military. In company of her superior, Paul von Hindenburg, he se lives entrust in 1916 THE commandment _ of the army German. During of the talks of peace of Bucharest in 1917-1918, Ludendorff fit make enormous demands for significant territorial expansions towards ballast. After failure of the offensive of In the spring of 1918, Hindenburg and Ludendorff had to capitulate. Between 1920 And 1924, he collaborated closely with Hitler. He was also accused in connection with Hitler's putsch, but was acquitted. Between 1924 And 1928, he represented THE "Nationalsocialist Freiheitspartei » (Left national socialist of the freedom) At parliament. In 1928, he broke with THE NSDAP.

MASARYK (Tomas Garrigue) (1850-1937). He was at the origin of the creation of the new Czechoslovak state and was also its first president.

NSDAP (National Socialist Deutsche Arbeiterpartei – Left national socialist of the workers Germans). It is there new denomination adopted THE 24 FEBRUARY 1920, when of a meeting of mass has Munich, by THE " Deutsche Arbeiterpartei » (DAP – Left German of the workers), who had summer based At beginning of 1919. THE 29 July 1921, a general meeting of members granted Hitler the presidency of left with THE full powers dictatorial. After his failed putsch of November 9, 1923 and his stay in prison, Hitler founded the party again on February 26 1925. THE "worship of fuhrer » And THE charisma of Hitler became central elements of the NSDAP. Between 1925 and 1930, THE number of party members increased from 27 000 to some 130000. During of the elections parliamentarians from 28 may 1928, the NSDAP obtained 2.6 % voices. Following the economic crisis and massive impoverishment, the following elections of September 14, 1930 assured him a resounding success: with 18.3 %, it became the second party in the country and its number of parliamentarians increased suddenly of 12 has 107. With 37.4 % to elections From July 1932, the NSDAP became the first party. But with his score in drop during of the elections parliamentarians from 6 november 1932, THE left knew a crisis. In January 1933, Franz von Papen, charged by Hindenburg with forming a new government, offered Hitler the post of chancellor of Reich At breast of a office national -conservative.

PACT (OR AGREEMENT) OF THE BALKANS. THE 9 FEBRUARY 1934, there Yugoslavia, there Greece, there Romania And there Türkiye seal a alliance military mostly directed against THE revisionism Bulgarian.

SMALL AGREEMENT. An alliance between Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia was born in the years 1920-1921 in as you wish of measure preventive against a possible _ revision by Austria Or there Hungary of the borders of Europe as they were set out in the Treaty of Versailles. In 1938, when Germany threatened Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia claimed that the "Petite Entente" was only directed against the Hungary And that, In This case, they had SO no contractual obligation with Prague. Furthermore, in 1939 and 1940, there Hungary reached Again has acquire of the territories of Romania and Czechoslovakia without a single country does not raise there lesser protest.

POLAND OF CONGRESS. In alliance narrow with there France, the Duchy of Warsaw was going to participate in the Napoleonic campaign in Russia. After the fall of Napoleon, the Kingdom of Poland (also called Congress Poland) was formed from the duchy stripped of its province of Posnania, granted has there Prussia, And he was attached to has there Russia in personal union; it received its own constitution and its own army.

"REICHSBANNER SCHWARZ-ROT-GOLD» (THE flag impeblack red and gold rial – abbreviated Reichsbanner). This organization was founded in 1924 following has the initiative of SPD and as a protection of parliamentary democracy. The association would become one of the largest mass organizations in the Weimar Republic. After

1930, there "Reichsbanner was going to put on A character clearly military in order to be able to face the growing violence of the HER.

REICHSWEHR. Name of the army of the Weimar Republic, numbers and weapons systems considerably reduced by the Treaty of Versailles (no strengths aerial, not of vehicles armored neither heavy artillery, no submarines or heavy warships, no production or possession of combat gas). For soldiers and non-commissioned officers, service lasted 12 years, 25 years For THE officers. Of the 34000 officers _ that counted the imperial army, only 4 000 could be maintained in function. Half of the generals belonged to the nobility. After the Kapp-Lüttwitz putsch, the members of there "Reichswehr" lost THE right of vote, which, within the army, led to a distancing and alienation from the political system of the Weimar Republic. THE body of the officers maintained however of the relationships with of the organizations of RIGHT as THE "Stahlhelm" (steel helmet) or the NSDAP. With the law of 16 March 1935 on the restoration of compulsory military service, the name "Reichswehr » was modified in "Wehrmacht".

(THE REST OF THERE CZECHOSLOVAKIA. The part of Czechoslovakia which remained after Hitler's annexation of the territories German speakers of the Sudetenland.

REVISIONISM. Germany tried to obtain a revision of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, especially regarding the questions of responsibility for war, the obligation to pay war damages, the prohibition of annexation Austria And of her new border eastern.

NOVEMBER (There revolution of -). In as you wish of protest against the absurdity of pursue there war, THE sailors of the Army German started a insurrection THE October 28 1918. They prevented there exit of the ships towards England. They formed a council of soldiers. Men _ of infantry refused to intervene against the sailors. THE workers of the construction sites naval of Kiel joined the revolt and formed their own councils workers. It is with ugly of left social democrat that, Ultimately, there revolution of November was repressed in THE blood.

LAW OF THE FULL POWERS OF 23 MARCH 1933. THE 23 March 1933, on the proposal of Reich Chancellor Hitler, the parliament German adopted there law of the full powers has a two-thirds majority. The Social Democrats voted against this law. After the fire of Reichstag, THE representatives of Left Communist were divested of their parliamentary mandates and a large number of them were locked up In of the camps of concentration. There Full Powers Act amended the Weimar constitution and gave the government the right to enact laws without that he either necessary that THE parliament THE approved. The law of full powers would remain the legal basis of there legislation German until there END of diet Nazi, in may 1945.

RITTER VON KAHR (Gustav). Ritter von Kahr (1862-1934) was Minister President of Bavaria at the time of Hitler's attempted coup d'état (1924). It is under his direction dictatorial that was born A important hearth of right in Bavaria Or, GOOD quickly, THE gone And groups from the left were prohibited. Yet, Kahr born se tidy not to sides of Hitler And he repressed THE putsch of This last

With violence. In 1924, at Hitler's trial, von Kahr testified against This last Thus that against Hindenburg and Rohm. During of the "Night Long Knives", in 1934, Kahr was murdered by THE SS of Hitler.

ROTE FAHNE (flag red). THE newspaper was based THE November 9 1918 by Carl Liebknecht And Rose Luxemburg and appeared until 1942 - illegally during the last years. HAS the origin, main organ of press of the Spartacist League, in 1920 it became the main newspaper of Left Communist from Germany. Daily, its draw in october 1920 was of 30000 exemplary, to pass has 130 000 in 1932. Became illegal under the dictatorship fascist, her draw And her frequency between 1933 And 1942 were going vary according to THE circumstances.

HER (Sturmabteilung - assault section). The SA was created on August 3, 1921 on the orders of Hitler. Agitation and paramilitary preparation for the struggle of the national socialist movement against the Weimar Republic: such were their ideals. No linked officially At NSDAP until 1925, the organization was recruiting among elders doormen and members of the dissolved free corps. Also included were many far-right officers who collaborated in the Kapp-Lüttwitz putsch. In November 1923, under the command of Hermann Göring, a few hundred of men armed of the HER participated At putsch (failed) of Hitler. After 1925, the organization se mutated into A movement powerful charge of complete there propaganda of the National Socialists by the conquest of the street. Below there direction by Ernst Röhm, She became a mass organization of more than 400,000 members in 1933 And of close of 4 million in 1934. THE efforts of Röhm so that there gigantic army of left acquires a self

nomic organizational in so much that future militia popular with the official monopoly on the carrying of weapons (in competition with there "Reichswehr") resulted in the elimination of the SA ("Night of the Long Knives").

SS (Schutzstaffeln = rungs of protection). THE 9 November 1925, Hitler founded a new personal guard, the SS. The SS were a component of the SA supposed to protect Hitler personally Thus that THE NSDAP assemblies . From 1929, Heinrich Himmler made the SS an elite organization whose characteristics were unconditional loyalty and obedience to the führer. In 1931, the SS were able to form their own security service, the SD (Sicherheitsdienst), with Reinhard at its head. Heydrich. GOOD quickly, THE SD becomes a autonomous institution under the direction of the Reichsführer-SS. In 1933, the SS numbered 209 000 members. Turning into party police, they were to win over the SA in the struggle to obtain Hitler's preference. During the Second World War, two of their infamous components were going be THE Waffen-SS And there Gestapo.

STRASSER (1892-1934)participated (Gregor) November 1923 At "Hitler's putsch" and was sentenced to a year and a half in prison. After the new founding of the NSDAP, Strasser re-affiliated with it and was given the task of building the left in Germany of North. There attempt to operate a split (in company of Goebbels) by report has line South German of NSDAP And of follow a line more "socialist", failed Ultimately in reason of there position _ of strength of Hitler At breast of left. In together with his brother Otto (1897-1974), in 1928 he founded the "Kampfverlag" which was going to become entangled in a heavy competitive struggle with L'" Angriff » of Goebbels. In 1934, Strasser

was beaten down by the Gestapo during the Night of the Long Knives".

STRESEMANN Stresemann (1878-1929)(Gustav). participates in 1918 has there foundation of "Deutsche Volkspartei » (DVP) and se molt Soon in mon of the men policies THE most influential of This left. In 1923, he becomes chancellor of a cabinet Who achieves has put A term has inflation but still falls after two months for disagreement has about of the intervention In THE troubles Who broke out in Saxony, Thuringia and Bavaria. Then, between 1923 And 1929, he will be minister of the Business foreigners in three cabinets successive.

THÄLMANN (Ernst). Thälmann (1886-1944) was from 1925 to 1933 president of KPD And, between 1924 And 1933, member of parliament. In 1924 he became a member of Executive Committee of the Communist International. After taking power of the Nazis, Thälmann was stopped For be finally executed in August 1944 at the Buchenwald concentration camp.

TREATY OF MUNICH (29 september 1938). Treaty by in which Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier agreed that the Sudeten region would be incorporated into the German Reich. England and France would act as guarantors for the maintenance of the remaining part of there Czechoslovakia And Hitler promised of born no longer emit there lesser claim territorial in The remarkable fact is that neither Czechoslovakia nor its ally the Soviet Union had been invited to the discussions. The German army occupied the Sudeten region from the 1st October 1938. The Sudeten region was, since 1918, the appellation of the parts of there Bohemia, of there Moravia

and Austrian Silesia where 3.5 million German speakers lived. Until 1918, these three regions had constituted a part of Austria-Hungary And, between 1918 and 1938, they were part of Czechoslovakia.

TREATY OF VERSAILLES. THE 18 January 1919, of the representatives of 32 nations met in Versailles to consult on THE treated of peace has TO DO sign by Germany and to discuss the complete reshaping of Central and Eastern Europe. The main decisions were taken by the leaders of government of there Britain, of France, of Italy And of the UNITED STATES. THE treated consisted, among other things, of attributing responsibility for the First World War to Germany and, therefore, of making it pay repairs considerable, has him TO DO to sell A vast territory, including all its colonies, and to no longer allow it to be disposed of that of a army very scaled down.

VORWÄRTS. From 1876, the organ of left of SPD, founded a year more early.

ZENTRUM (Center). Left policy has tendency Catholic, founded in 1870. As under the Empire, it was, during the Republic of Weimar, THE left At percentage of the most constant voice and, until the end, he always retained in the Reichstag a representation of 60 to 75 parliamentarians. THE left participated has all THE elections until 1932 and five of its politicians were chancellors: Konstantin Fehrenbach, Josef Wirth, Wilhelm Marx, Heinrich Brüning and – later without a party– Franz von Papen. Politically, these men differed: from the left-liberal Wirth to the very national-conservative Papen. Last of the gone bourgeois, THE "Zentrum" decided her own liquidation THE 5 July 1933.

Table of the materials

Prelace	Or reread Kurt Gossweiler?	5
Chapter 1	Of Weimar has Hitler: THE causes of the advent of there dictatorship fascist	13
Chapter 2	Hitler And THE capital THE true million behind Hitler	55
Chapter 3	Class factory Girl And fascism There socialism of the barons of steel	111
Chapter 4	There Impeachment of Braun- Severing government THE Left socialist In THE collimator	143
Chapter 5	Origins And variants of fascism Fascism, dictatorship And democracy parliamentary 167	
Chapter 6	There policy of the Nazis In THE Balkans to through there "Review European" The expansion has ballast, yesterday And Tod	lay? 21 5
	Glossary	231

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